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JOHN SWINTON.

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STRIKING FOR LIFE

Labor's Side of the Labor Question

THE RIGHT OF THE WORKINGMAN
TO A FAIR LIVING

BY

JOHN SWINTON

EDITOR OF "JOHN SWINTON'S PAPER."

AUTHOR OF "LIVE, BURNING QUESTIONS," ETC., ETC.

AND

ARTICLES SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED

BY

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President American Federation of Labor

EUGENE V. DEBS

President American Railway Union

JOHN W. HAYES

General Secretary-Treasurer Knights of Labor

FULLY AND BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED

AMERICAN MANUFACTURING AND PUBLISHING CO.

1894

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PREFACE.

The times are revolutionary. The energies of mankind in our day are immense. There is an extraordinary activity of the powers of life in our age. The world seems to be whirling more rapidly than ever before. Vast changes have been brought about in our generation ; others are in progress ; yet others are impending. There is a new spirit abroad, and its manifestations are everywhere. "Things are in the saddle." Questions from which there can be no escape are before us.

The Labor Question is in the front. It is of supreme importance to all men, and to all women. It is related directly to the life of the whole people, to their natural and essential rights, to the welfare of the community, to popular freedom, and to the public peace.

The "War for the Union," during the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln, grew out of the Labor Question, and was waged over it: Shall the working population of our country, or any part of it, be held in slavery? Stupendous sacrifices were then made to secure the emancipation of the black laborer, and the old chattel system was overthrown at a price that has not yet been paid. We had to abolish this system before we could grapple with any of the other wrongs which must be done away with.

Since that time a question of even greater magnitude, and yet more revolutionary, has been brought to the front,—one which is often summed up in the phrase: "the rights of

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labor." It has not been brought up by any theorist or agitator, or yet by any group of men or organization of labor. It has grown out of the forces of nature and the human mind, out of evils not to be borne forever, out of industrial and social wrongs, out of suffering indescribable and aspiration irrepressible. It is the question of our age and of our country. It is a question with which the world is pregnant. Not by all the enginery of power can it be suppressed,—not by combined capital, or by harsh laws, or by big armies, or by newspaper invective, or by chop logic,—not by the thunders of the Church, or the devices of the State,—not certainly by the order of that puerile part of the community which is called "society,"—and not even by philanthropic tomfoolery. Futile, also, as a means for its settlement, are the crude schemes put out by many purblind reformers, or favored, at times, by some of the organizations of labor. I say that the question is one of stupendous proportions. It is not to be postponed. In it are the issues of life and of death.

This book contains some hints and suggestions concerning it, that may be serviceable in these times. It is not a complete body of thought on the subject. It offers no cheap and easy way of curing the ills of mankind. It is, however, the result of some experience, and reflection and observation.

For the past quarter of a century, I have taken the very deepest interest in the Labor Question, which I have studied with such intelligence as I possess,—traveling, while thus engaged, from the Atlantic seaboard to the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico. I have delivered many hundreds of

PREFACE.

speeches upon it before multitudinous hearers. I sustained for four years, a small weekly paper in which it was almost the sole theme. I may say, also, that a life-time of service upon daily papers in New York and Cincinnati has given me all needful knowledge of those currents of thought which flow in a direction other than that which my own thought has taken these many years.

The whole aim of all my work in this cause has been to aid the masses to think, think for themselves, upon this vital question, and to adopt practical measures in their own interest. To my mind, the worst thing for mankind is mental apathy, is supineness under wrong, is indifference to one's rights; while the best thing is moral susceptibility. Hence I have welcomed all popular agitations, urged the importance of labor organization, and believed every "strike" to be of advantage in the long run.

It may be taken for granted, therefore, that the book, "Striking for Life," is the natural outgrowth of its author's belief and experience. Even while writing it in this month of July, I hear the midsummer news from great Chicago, the resurgent city of the glorious West.

JOHN SWINTON.

NEW YORK, July, 1894.



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ILLUSTRATIONS.

Among the portraits of prominent Labor Leaders (who are the natural subjects for the illustration of a work like "Striking for Life ; or, Labor's Side of the Labor Question"), we take pleasure in presenting the first authentic likeness of the President of the American Railway Union, Eugene V. Debs. To this, and others forming this first group, we have added fine portraits of John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, Geo. M. Pullman, founder of the city that bears his name, John M. Eagan, Chairman General Managers Strike Committee, Major-General Nelson A. Miles, and others prominently connected with the Chicago strike of 1894.

As explained in our Preface, the recent events at Chicago afforded the best of reasons for the production of our book at this time ; and in order to faithfully depict the scenes in that city, our special representative was on the ground before the smoke from burning cars and other railroad property had cleared away. To his untiring energy the reader is indebted for the absolutely correct views in and about the city which we present in this book. These views will appear in no other volume, as they are copyrighted. The midsummer sun looked down upon strange sights in that city by the lake.

The Post Office Building, surrounded by United States Regulars, their white tents and spotless accoutrements gleaming in the July brightness, was one. (See page 142.)

ILLUSTRATIONS.

Away on the Lake Front, an encampment of United States Cavalry had for a background, by the irony of fate, the lofty building containing the offices of the Pullman corporations. (See page 106.)

At the Union Depot was the famous Emergency Train, locomotives, with steam up, at either end, filled with Regular troops from Fort Sheridan, ready for duty in any quarter. (See page 70.)

A Camp of State Militia (on page 178) is accurately reproduced, and other pages show how further depredations on railroad property were prevented by the presence of troops.

Something over eight hundred freight cars were destroyed, in various sections of the city, and other illustrations of this nature which we show, while absolutely faithful to the scenes, utterly fail to give the reader more than an idea of the frightful destruction there wrought.

As regards illustrations of the striking scenes at Chicago, the public up to this time has had only newspaper cuts of a highly imaginative character.

Aside from the enterprise shown in securing ours, they possess not only a present but a permanent value. We are making history fast.

THE PUBLISHERS.

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

In the firm belief that the toiling millions in this country will be able to better understand the causes that make possible the conditions confronting us to-day, and in the equally firm belief that the "bread-winners" of this broad land need a text-book on the vital question of the hour, this volume is offered them as the ripe fruition, the crystalized knowledge of one whose youth, manhood, and ripening years have been, and are, freely spent in the effort to ameliorate their condition. "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel," is the cry of the apostle of to-day, as it was of him of old, whose ringing utterances and burning words to the followers of the "Nazarene" have come to us "thundering down the corridors of time."

This is a busy, practical, every-day world, and "the cares that infest the day" will not silently depart at the command of our wills—so much to do, and so little with which to do it. "How long, O Lord, how long?" is the cry wrung from the toiler as he goes forth to his illy-paid labor; and again it breaks forth as, his task performed, he "homeward plods his weary way," to rest as best he may his weary muscles and his aching head. There *is* a remedy, and he who, with a single heart, has entered the noisome districts—the plague-spots of our own and other lands—that he may tell of their wretchedness and squalor, he will tell of this remedy—will point with

PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

unerring finger to the promised land and be the Moses to lead his people forth. *His* people; for he is of them, at once their counsellor and guide. As the man of Horeb stood in the desert and smote the rock until the living waters gushed forth, so the prophet and sage of the hour is smiting the rock of vexed questions, and all who will may learn of the errors and victories of the past and present—for there are both—and flee from the arid and burning waste of their environment to the land “flowing with milk and honey.”

To many a student of events, some of the causes of the present antagonistic relations of labor and capital, as told by our author, will come as a revelation. Much that has been in the shadowy background of doubt is now displayed in the bright foreground of indisputable fact; and dull of understanding indeed is he who cannot find guidance, strength, comfort, and incentive in this Gospel of Labor. The mid-summer happenings at Chicago this year, the echoes of which will be heard while “circling Time moves round in an eternal sphere,” have afforded the opportunity to send forth this book on its mission of good.

“With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us struggle to finish the work we are in,” proclaimed him who struck the shackles from the limbs of the black man and now sleeps in a martyr’s grave.

“Better a day of strife than a century of sleep.” Pass the word along!

THE PUBLISHERS.

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EUGENE V. DEBS
President American Railway Union

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLUTION.



REAT changes in the industrial world and in productive methods have taken place within the second half of our century, and these changes have been far greater in our own country than in any other. They have resulted in a new state of things, the significance of which can easily be apprehended, and must be taken into the account, first and last.

1. We have had a prodigious development of useful mechanism, through which very much of the labor formerly performed by human hands is performed by machinery.

2. We have seen the massing of capital in gigantic blocks under the control of shrewd and rapacious individuals or syndicates.

3. We have admitted millions of impoverished immigrants from sundry countries of Europe who could be hired for any wage, not only at common labor, but in many branches of a large number of handicrafts, and in machine work.

4. We have seen an immense increase—perhaps a hundred fold—of women workers, over a

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Vol. No. million of whom are now employed in factories and in numerous skilled industries.

5. We have come to the end of the time at which fertile land could be obtained for a nominal price in the broad States of the West, and upon which "surplus labor" formerly found its opportunity.

Let every reader of this book think for himself upon each one of the statements just made. He will certainly not entertain any doubt that the five facts here classified must have exercised, and have actually exercised, a transforming influence, and must have profoundly affected all industries, from farm work to telegraphy, from common labor to the skilled trades. They have so enlarged the productive capacity of the living generation, so changed the conditions of existence for all the men and women who must work to live, that, were our grandsires to return to life, they would be unable to comprehend the world of their posterity.

It is not worth while to give here a mass of details respecting the new mechanical appliances that have been brought into use within recent years, or the previously unknown natural forces that have been reduced to man's service, or the increase of production that has thus become pos-

sible, or the amount of manual labor that has thus been displaced, or the extent of the suffering that has thus been inflicted upon millions of our countrymen, or the reasons why things good in themselves have been turned into agencies for the aggrandizement of a few individuals at the expense of the many who ought to enjoy their benefits. This is the most serious problem that has ever confronted mankind, and yet it must be solved by us if we would not submit to penalties too awful to be thought of. Already there have been serious industrial dislocations consequent upon the adoption of new processes by which the social interests of great populations have been revolutionized, and by which ruin has overtaken the artisans, laborers, and traders cast into idleness.

Nevertheless, while avoiding the lesser counts in the case, it seems proper to give here a few of the amazing facts that have been collected by a competent writer familiar with this subject, who argues that the industrial and commercial world suffers from such an excess of all forms of productive power as greatly to lessen the consuming power of any given population for everything except indispensable articles of food.

In cotton spinning, for example, one man and two boys now produce as much yarn as did 1,100 spinners using the single-spindle hand wheel;

and one operative employed in weaving, turns out forty to fifty times as much cloth as did the hand-loom weaver. It is manifest that there can never be an equivalent increase of that unit power to consume cotton goods.

In the case of woollen and other superior textiles, the increase of unit productive power has been less; yet it has been far in excess of any possible increase of the power to consume. Moreover, in most textile manufactures the robust hand-loom weaver has given place to the female and child, and this sends the male descendants of the hand-loom operative to the recruiting office in increasing numbers.

With the multiple forms of wood-working machinery the labor of one man now equals that of 100 in the days of Adam Smith, except in the finest cabinet and carriage work. Similar reductions have been made in the labor involved in the production of articles made of both wood and metal, and in all such forms the lessened cost of production increases consumption in only a small degree.

In the paper-making and leather industries the labor displaced by improved processes averages quite ninety-five per cent.

The amount of labor displaced by machinery in the boot and shoe trade is a fairly well-kept trade secret, but the proportion is very great,

although the retail price of the product falls but slowly ; and the increase of unit consumption is so slight as to afford no compensation for the increase of the unit power of production. In the very nature of the case, there can be no great increase in the unit power to consume.

For each operative employed, the Burden horseshoe machine turns out as many shoes as 500 blacksmiths can make with anvil and hammer ; and a single nail-making machine turns out for each labor unit employed, more nails than 1,000 men could shape by hand.

A most notable instance of the increase of unit productive power is found in the latest forms of the printing press, which turn out hundreds and probably thousands of times as many square feet of printed matter for each pressman employed as did the old-time hand-press. The type-setting machine is sending the compositor to the rear with great celerity, as other machines are sending to the rear the makers of the cheaper books, while diminishing the labor required on the higher priced. Unlike wheat, shoes, and such indispensables, the lessened cost of printed matter increases the unit power to consume, but even here such increase is relatively small as compared with an enormous increase of the power to produce.

It is impossible even to approximate the increase of power of production in such employ-

ments as quarrying, mining, and the carriage of sea-borne commerce, by reason of the application of labor-saving devices and the substitution of large steam craft for the smaller sailing vessels. The steam engine, electric lighting of mines, the diamond drill, compressed air, coal and rock cutting machines, and an innumerable array of other devices have lessened in an extraordinary degree the labor force required to accomplish a given end ; just as the enlargement of the water craft and the railway vehicle and the substitution of steam for sails have increased immensely the power to move commodities and people by land, lake, river, and ocean. This displacement of labor, increasing now at a progressive rate, has been accompanied by not the least increase of the power of the labor employed to consume the products of other labor, except in the measure of the reduction in the price of such products.

In the conversion of ore and metals into useful forms, machinery and labor-saving processes have effected nearly as great an increase of productive power as in the case of textiles, although the ratio of increase varies with every product. Still, each workman now employed in such industries has quite as great an average productive power as had 100 in the days of Adam Smith.

Railways have displaced the stage-coach, the canal boat, the carter, and lake and river craft

of every description; still it is questionable if their construction and equipment have not, till this time, added to the sum of employment; but for the most of the civilized peoples the work of railway construction and equipment has largely been accomplished. Railways and telegraphs differ radically from productive machinery, by promoting speedy communication and transport and by bringing material with regularity to the place of conversion. Yet the sum of labor now employed in transporting by rail a given quantity of commodities is not more than half—if more than one-third—of what it was thirty years since, and the power of the laborer to transport increases yearly.

Swiss watchmakers were able to turn out an average of forty watches a year. Each operative in an American factory turns out from 250 to 300 watches yearly, machinery displacing fully eighty per cent. of the labor. While the lessened cost of watches has greatly extended their use, such extension is far from being commensurate with the increase of each labor unit's productive power. When the whole population shall be fairly well supplied with an article so durable, and the cost of food shall absorb an increasing proportion of diminishing individual revenues, the power to consume watches will decline and the displacement of labor will be severely felt in such

communities as that of Switzerland. Even now, the power to produce is so excessive that prices are maintained only by combinations to restrict the number of watches made.

Telephones are machines which have displaced labor by the elimination of the messenger, but they enable no one to consume the product of labor except as a result of their construction and maintenance. This is a mere trifle.

On the other hand, while the telegraph may be called a machine, it appears to have added to, rather than diminished employment. This cannot be said of the general applications of electricity, which are daily displacing more and more labor, a notable example being the device for stamping letters automatically.

Formerly lace-making was a household industry of great importance in western and central Europe, but machine-made lace has displaced the greater part of the hand-made; and while it is impossible closely to approximate the amount of labor thus displaced, it is very great, as has been the distress thereby brought to people whose meagre incomes have been cut in twain, with much of their purchasing power destroyed. Lace is a luxury, and, while cheapened production has extended its use, this extension bears but a slight proportion to the labor displaced.

Although in agriculture the displacement of

labor by machinery has been relatively less than in other forms of production, even in the United States and Canada, where it has come into general use, yet so great has been its effect that Mulhall estimates the productive power of one unit of American agricultural labor as equal to that of nine in Europe. In America, notably in the Northern and Western States, the use of farm machinery has been stimulated in recent periods, by the size of farms. Large farms render profitable the use of appliances that the occupier of the small holding can afford neither to buy nor to operate; and this, again, has a very pronounced tendency to increase the size of farms.

Probably the use of labor-saving devices and the cessation in large part of forest removal, have, since 1850, quintupled the productive power of each labor unit employed upon American farms; but it is certain that this increase of the power to produce has, so far as the whole food-consuming populations of the temperate zones are concerned, been offset by but slight increase of the power to consume farm products; and the excessive production of food by reason of the cultivation of too many acres, facilitated and made possible in some degree by machinery, has greatly reduced the power of the labor employed on the farms in the United States, as elsewhere, to buy of the

products of the fabricants' labor. So far as food staples are concerned, machinery, from the very nature of things, exerts a most disastrous effect upon the agricultural wage worker by lessening his employment without the possibility of compensation for the community by increase of consumption of farm products. Machinery has driven the farm laborer out of the field and to the crowded railway, mine, and factory, where he competes with others for employment, rapidly growing relatively less.

Had it been possible to reduce to the American ratio the labor required to cultivate a given number of acres in foreign lands, and had the displaced workers been forced into the ranks of those fabricating and distributing wares, as they must have been, what a frightful condition would now be that of the wage-earners of all lands! Yet this would have been but a further exhibition of "the progress of the race and the march of improvement." When we contemplate the possibility of such conditions, we can respect the Chinese ruler who caused all the farm machinery in the empire to be destroyed, and its reconstruction prohibited upon pain of death, because it robbed the people of the employment necessary to their very existence.

The industrial equipment of the Western nations is sufficient to supply the whole world's

population with much more of every product of manufacture than can possibly be consumed. The cultivator's power to purchase has been greatly diminished the world over, by reason of excessive additions to the cultivated acreage, made mostly in the United States since 1870. The revenues and expenditures of artisan and laborer everywhere are steadily decreasing because of lack of work due to the inability of cultivators to buy as largely as formerly of the product of others, and by reason of the enormously increased power of each industrial unit to produce. Vast masses of labor are partially idle, and retain but little purchasing power, which have heretofore been engaged in the construction of steamships, railways, and existing industrial equipments. All this being so, it would be wholly unaccountable had not such activity as existed in previous years given place to stagnation, idleness, and distress, as well as to a constantly diminishing ability to consume wares for the production of which the available labor is as excessive as the equipment.

Excessive power to fabricate has destroyed much of the power to consume the products of manufacture; and the low price of food and fibre, due only to an excess of cultivated acres and the resulting excess of agricultural production, intensifies this inability to consume, by diminishing the

landowner's and the cultivator's power to command the products of others.

The products of manufacture are easily capable of infinite multiplication, as, given the food, is man. And their production in excess of the power to consume is assured by existing conditions, which indicate an indefinite if not an unending period of falling wages; lower prices for all products, other than those of the soil, where not maintained by combinations to restrict production; a ratio of profits declining as do prices, and a general if gradual lowering of the standard of living.

These results, deplorable as they are, follow inevitably from the enormous increase of each labor unit's power to produce. Such increase is directly traceable to the adoption of labor-saving devices.

Adam Smith, the "father of political economy," died without a knowledge of the condensing steam-engine, the cotton-gin, or the electric telegraph; he had never seen a railway, steamship, or grain harvester, and knew probably little of the spinning-jenny, power-loom, or of one per cent. of the many thousands of labor-saving devices now in use that have certainly multiplied the power of production, in the sum of all manufactures, not less than fifty fold and probably more than a hundred fold.

The problem of the times is whether there can ever be such an increase of the power to consume as will absorb not only all the commodities which an industrial equipment and labor force already much too great can turn out, but all that can result from further augmentation of labor's productive power.


Here, then, from the illustrations given, the reader can form some estimate of the prospects of mankind under the new forces and the new appliances of inventive skill.

It is most certainly an unsatisfactory and unpromising outlook under the existing state of things.

But it must be possible for the American people to make up their mind that these mighty agencies shall be used for public advantage rather than for private enrichment, for the welfare of the community rather than for its impoverishment. They must belong to the workers by whom they were produced, and by whom they are operated to their own detriment.

CHAPTER II.

THE MASSING OF CAPITAL—THE WIELDERS OF POWER.

F the array of facts in the foregoing chapter shall attract the interest of intelligent workers, or stir them up to action, or even alarm them, it will be well for our country, which ought to be a fountain of wealth for the whole body of its people, and which possesses resources sufficient to make every one well off. We own a country which all its men and women ought to have reason to feel proud of.

The massing of capital, which means the centralizing of power in the hands of individuals, syndicates, trusts, corporations, or what not, is another significant feature of our recent history.

It began to assume formidable proportions about the time of the close of our civil war, and it has advanced by leaps and bounds ever since then.

In the year 1860 the wealth of this country was pretty well distributed. We had then no multimillionaires, very few millionaires, few large fortunes. There are no detailed wealth statistics in the census of that year, from which, however, it

can be learned that one-half the country's wealth was possessed by one-half its citizens. It is perfectly safe to assert that ninety-one per cent. of the people held, in fair and even measure, ninety-one per cent. of the wealth, while four per cent. of them owned nine per cent. of it, leaving but a small fraction of the whole in poverty or dependence.

An astonishing change in the distribution of wealth had taken place by the year 1890. At that time nine per cent. of the population owned eighty-four per cent. of the wealth, while ninety-one per cent. were in straitened circumstances, living from hand to mouth, though it is wholly unfair to say (as a statistician has recently said) that they were "practically paupers." The census for that year divides the wealth among three classes of families: (1) multi-millionaires, (2) employing capitalists, and (3) ordinary workers, in which last class are included all families worth \$5,000 or less, or all holding any share of wealth. The 4,000 multi-millionaires had then 50 per cent. more wealth than the fifty-five million members of the twelve million families of the other class. In other words, ninety-one per cent. of the people owned but sixteen per cent. of the aggregate wealth of the country. In the year 1860 the "working class" in the United States had numbered less than one-half of the population,

while thirty years later that "class" (using the word broadly) was ninety-one per cent., since which time the proportion of it has become yet greater.

Any reader who desires to study the details of this revolutionary change can find them in the census. That document is as instructive to the student who would understand the operation of the system under which the country's wealth has been concentrated in a few hands as are the patent office reports to those who would understand the influence of mechanical invention upon American labor. Another valuable source of information is that marvelous book published by the New York *Tribune*, in which the names and fortunes of the leading American plutocrats are set down.

In the city of New York alone there are five men whose wealth exceeds \$500,000,000.

In my boyhood in that big city, a little old man, looking like an Egyptian mummy, was pointed out to me who was worth a million (the original Astor), and I was told that there were but two other men of equal fortune in the country, one of them in Philadelphia, and one in New Orleans. The property of Astor's living descendants runs up at this time into the hundreds of millions.

I do not suppose that such a rapid and prodigious concentration of capital as we have seen in our country within a short period of years has



J. R. SOVEREIGN
Grand Master Workman, Knights of Labor

ever been seen in any other country in any age of the world's history.

Not long ago, I went to a fashionable church in Fifth Avenue of New York. When I looked around the pews at the people whom I knew by sight, I saw about a score of men the aggregate wealth of whom is probably not less than one thousand million dollars; and I can say that the countenances of some of the multi-millionaires were as unctuous as though they had been anointed with the oil which flowed from the beard of Aaron, in the book of Psalms.

Not long afterward, I saw a squad of lean and hungry Jews driven from the steps of an East-side church, at the doors of which they had sought for bread.

Some account must also be here taken of the extent to which capital has been massed, and is wielded by such colossal concerns as the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Trust, the coal combinations, the railroad corporations, the land-owning syndicates, and the many other bodies of the kind.

The word billion has an impressive sound, but it is far from adequate to compass the volume of capital thus embodied.

How can the ordinary worker, or the petty

trader, or the small farmer, or any average citizen, stand in such presence?

As the few nabobs have risen upward, the restricted hordes have sunk downward.

The country that we once knew is not now known to us.

I can testify from personal knowledge that, in the years of my early manhood, while yet the millionaires were not among us, neither could there hardly ever be found an industrious man who could not procure work and wages anywhere. I was then, while living in various cities of the East, West and South, a boarder in many mechanics' boarding-houses, and every man in all of them had a job, or could get another, at any time. The wage-earning carpenter who hired the best room in the house had a place, and never thought of being without one, as had also the printer, the watchmaker, tailor, blacksmith and shoemaker. The wages in most trades, also, were better than they are at this time, in proportion to the cost of living then and now. Everybody had a sense of manly independence; everybody was able to get along without anxiety; everybody had a pretty good time. We were all citizens of the United States of America, proud of our country's flag.

But look at New York City to-day; look at Chicago, at Boston, at St. Louis, and at many of

our other American cities. Look first in New York at the monumental millionaires, and then at the festering masses of the denizens of the East Side, as many as 253,000 of whom are, at this moment, crowded into 7,700 of those plague-haunted tenements of the Twelfth Ward! There are in the city, as appears from a report of the Board of Health, made in June of the current year, not fewer than 1,300,000 of its people living in its 39,000 tenements, the death rate in which is nearly thrice as great as it is in the domiciles of the rich. There are the dens of the sweaters. There are those thousands of families, the gross weekly earnings of which are but from \$2.00 to \$4.00, even when a father, a mother, and several children may struggle over their labor from daylight till they fall with exhaustion at night. There are the swarms of wretched babes, who never knew maternal nourishment or paternal care, and so many of whom soon shrink from life in a world by which they are despised.

Why, at the opening of the year 1894, there were over 140,000 working men and women out of employment in that city, full two-thirds of whom were glad to get the daily dole of charity, when, indeed, it could be got. In midsummer of this stricken year, there are nearly as many of these piteous victims, with the prospect of yet more during the next winter. And cruel is the wretch,

be he preacher, editor, or fool, who can say that they are loafers, or vicious persons, or drunkards, or incompetents, or anything else than poor human beings out of work. If there be all this abject poverty, there must be a vast amount of other poverty which is less obvious. Poverty upon a great scale has become chronic in this big city of the East.

I have traveled through many lands across the sea within a few years, and I doubt whether there is in Christendom a city that has a worse record than New York. The good city of old has been transformed at the top and at the bottom; but luckily it is less changed at the middle.


Look at yet more of our Eastern cities; look also at Chicago and other Western cities.

How greatly our country has been changed!

Is it a hopeless state of things? I think not. And must they go from bad to yet worse? Not if the sufferers can be brought to determine that it shall be otherwise. They have the power to establish, by peaceful means, an industrial community, under which neither the "bloated millionaire" nor the abject starveling shall dishonor the country in which they dwell.

CHAPTER III.

RUSH OF THE ALIEN STARVELINGS—SLAVS, JEWS, AND
ITALIANS.

F the new inventions and machinery of the times have brought about great changes in the condition of American labor, and adverse to it, (chap. I.); if the transfer of the wealth of the country from the hands of the masses into those of a few nabobs has turned millions of our people from freemen into bondmen, (chap. II.), there is yet another thing not to be overlooked, the baneful and menacing influence of which is manifest in several lines of industry. It is pauperized immigration.

Within the past ten years, or from 1883 to 1893, there have arrived at our ports the enormous number of 5,325,000 steerage passengers from Europe. Thus the working population of our country has been very greatly enlarged within these few years, and the struggle for life, the competition for employment, has been very highly intensified.

The fact is certainly impressive, if it be not ominous.

The majority of the immigrants in the years here spoken of were from the Russian Empire, the Austrian monarchy, and the Kingdom of Italy.

Nearly all of these new-comers were poor, very poor.

It was necessary for all of them to look for some way of getting the means of life as soon as they landed here. They must get work at once, and upon any terms that would enable them to live. They sought for it under great disadvantages, being mostly unable to speak the language of the United States, knowing nothing of the customs of the people, and having very crude notions of the prices paid for labor in this country. They had been used to hard conditions of existence before they came here ; they had been compelled to sustain themselves upon very low pay ; they had lived meanly upon poor food, in dull hovels, under harsh masters. They had no knowledge of popular freedom, no experience of the large measure of welfare to which honest labor is entitled. They were, in great part, unskilled toilers, ready to take any pay they could get, and to work until tired nature refused to obey the will. The Slavs, of Austria, knew the world at its worst, or very nearly so ; the Jews, of Russia, knew only of life within "The Pale" ; the Italians, from the southern provinces of the kingdom, knew nothing better than those

mournful conditions which have existed there for ages.

I have seen swarms of these poor immigrants when they arrived at Ellis Island, in the port of New York. I have seen tens of thousands of them after, and years after, they had settled in our cities, or in the mining regions, or in the factory towns, or elsewhere.

The spectacle in many cases has been such as might induce a new Dante to write of another "Inferno."

I am not the man who, under any circumstances, could be led to incite hostility or prejudice toward these unhappy men in America. On the contrary, my whole soul is full of pity for their sufferings, of zeal to promote their welfare, and of a feeling of fraternity toward every one of them. They are good people. They are well-disposed, anxious for their own betterment, friendly to those who are friendly to them, ever ready to give service, industrious, sober, and frugal.

I have addressed many great and small meetings of them; I have mingled with them in their quarters; I am personally acquainted with many of them, and I have always stood ready to give them the hand and the word of amity. My spirit is wounded whenever I hear or read any language

of abuse or of unkindness about them. All the races of mankind, and all the men of good-will are to me as brethren, born for Paradise.

Here and now and ever I testify in the favor of our poor Jews from Russia, our poor Slavs or Huns from Austria, our poor Italians from Sicily or elsewhere, our poor immigrants of any race from every country. May God help them !

A while ago I visited an exiled Jew living in the slums with his wife and babes. He had the face of Michael Angelo's "Moses" ; he had the faith of Isaiah, the prophet ; he had the spirit of the Maccabees. He and his family were in rags, and hungry even while he sought strength from the "Torah." His wife was like unto Sarah of old ; his babes like the sucklings of ancient Israel. His industry was that of running a sewing-machine in a sweat-shop ; but he had been out of work for three months and had earned his crust by peddling matches in the slums. He was "every inch a man," honest and true, grave, sage, sympathetic, and well-affected.

Happy Jew ! He has left our world.

What ill had he done as he ran his course, from the Pale of Western Russia to the "Ghetto" on the east side of the main city of our Atlantic seaboard ? What virtue had he lacked in his doleful life ?

I say, Withered be the hand that was raised by

a curmudgeon against this Jew, or any other hand raised against men of his kind!

But I am wandering from the main theme of this chapter.

Awhile ago, or one day in February, 1894, while walking in Broadway, I halted to look at a string of miserables, who were waiting to get some of those cast-off clothes which the New York *Herald* gave to needy applicants for a time. Absorbed in the scene, I thoughtlessly fell into the ranks at one moment. Right in front of me, was a female skeleton in rags, crowned with a death's head in which two stony eyes were set; and her lean hands held to her ribs a skeleton boy in rags, who looked at me with the inquiring eyes which were set in his skull. The mother's wierd face was lighted with a smile when she heard a kindly word from a voice unlike that to which she had listened at a charity society, where she had been gruffly told that she was "not a worthy applicant for relief." Poor Italian from Palermo! By the next week herself and boy slept in a pauper's grave!

What ill had she or he done in the world that they should suffer thus in our United States? The Holy Virgin be with her now!

But I may be told that all this is merely senti-

mental. You are wrong, esteemed reader. It is the most practical kind of thing in all the wide world.

There is many another case like that of the Mosaic Jew from Warsaw, and that of the sepulchral woman from Palermo.

Now for facts of another kind.

The 5,325,000 needy emigrants who have come here within the past ten years had to find work, if it were to be found.

A large proportion of the Huns and Slavs went to the coal and iron regions, where the "lords of misrule" revel in their power. A large proportion of the Italians sought for wages as common laborers on the railroads, in the building trades, and at other hard work. A large proportion of the Russian Jews sought to eke out a living as best they could, in one way or another.

As time went along, many of the members of the various races strove to get a chance to enter those trades which, through the division of labor, can be learned with comparative ease. The Italian ceased to be a hod-carrier if he could find the opportunity to work as a bricklayer or mason. The Russian Jews, many thousands of them, got employment in various branches of the clothing trades, or in other handicrafts. A good many of the Slavs, also, have been able to better their estate somewhat, somehow.

The great mass of the working Italians, Slavs and Jews are hirelings upon low wages, often upon "starvation wages." One has but to go among them to get the facts. One has but to visit the mining regions of the central States or the "Little Italies" and "Ghettos" of the large cities, to see the true condition of things.

This is the unanswerable reply to the falsehood of rich employers and corporations that they pay all that they can afford.

The influence of the immense and rapid increase of the labor-force of the country has been felt in all lines of industry. The supply of wage-labor is far beyond the demand for it. The labor-market is gorged in such a way that capitalists can procure "hands" upon their own terms. The men must get work or starve. Any wage that will stanch hunger is better than nothing to the starveling. The competition between workmen in many places has grown beyond all bounds. It is ominous. It is ruinous. If an advertisement were published in New York for 100,000 men at what is called in England a "living wage," the whole of them could be hired in a day. In every city of our country, from Boston to Chicago and San Francisco, there is, and there has been for years, "surplus labor," which would be an impossible thing under an orderly system of industry.

If men were called for to work in the black holes of the mines, they would swarm there at once. When a corporation recently wanted 100 laborers, 2,000 of them applied for places. If a million troops were needed for military service at army pay with rations, they could be raised in a week from the ranks of the idlers.

I have collated such data as are available respecting involuntary idleness in the years of grace 1893, and 1894; and I am persuaded that he who makes the largest estimate of the amount of it is the most nearly right.

Would that I could in conscience, and with intelligence, speak otherwise upon this grievous subject! Would that the prospects of the future were encouraging!

The influence of recent immigration upon American labor, under existing industrial conditions, which are truly anarchical, though not of the nature of "philosophical anarchy," has been baneful in the extreme. The pay of millions of wage-workers have been reduced, while hundreds of capitalists have grown richer than ever.

It certainly is not necessary to give either figures or arguments in support of this statement. I wish the question were one that could be argued.

The proposition that, under favoring circumstances, immigration is desirable, need not be

made. The truth is obvious. By it our country has been largely populated; our resources have been developed; our industries have been prosecuted; our strength has grown. But these current years are not good years for it.

In other times, the bulk of our immigrants from Germany, Scandinavia, and some other parts of Europe, struck out for the West, where many of them took up land, while others worked at their trades or went into business. What they have done for the country can be seen by looking at the great Western States in which millions of them have settled for life.

But there has been an unhappy change. There are not now any lands for squatters in the West; there are many unemployed laborers in all parts of the West; and there are other proofs of this fact than "Coxey's Army." In recent years, the great majority of the immigrants from Europe have settled in the over-crowded cities, where they have sought to get their living in any way by which they could get it.

A "Parliamentary Blue Book," containing a report made to the British Government by an official commission, which was sent to this country last year to inquire into the influence of the more recent immigration upon American industries, the public welfare, and the community at large, is in

my possession. The investigation made by these commissioners was extensive and exact; and the facts printed in their report are both striking and serious. They give evidence that the influence has been unfavorable, and has already resulted in evil to the country. I am unable to quote here from this report, or to analyze its tables and documents for this book, but I must take the space needed to tell that it proves conclusively that great numbers of immigrants have been brought from sundry countries of Europe to the United States by the order or at the instigation of our great corporations, with the object of obtaining cheap labor, or, in other words, of cutting down the wage-rates that had previously prevailed. Agents have been sent abroad; false promises were made to the ignorant people whom they were able to hire, and means at once cruel and shameful were taken to lead them to leave their homes. As soon as these corporations had got their victims here, they taught them that corporation promises are made to be broken, and gave them such paltry pay that they could not raise the money to go back to their native places.

We have probably over a million foreign laborers in the country who have thus been brought to it. And I do not believe that the abhorrent business has been stopped by the passage of the Alien Contract Labor Law,

How unworthy it is for Americans to abuse or slander these swindled people, who came to this country in full hope of a better life. Rather let us turn our wrath against the corporations of greed and cajolery which have brought this evil, and many other evils, upon the young American Republic.

What can be done about it? We should certainly put restrictions upon immigration at once; and, perhaps, we should shut the gates against it, at least for a time. I ask the American people, including our workers, to think of the subject and to compel action upon it.

We are told that the evil will cure itself, and, possibly, it may. The immigration from Europe during the past year of unusual distress, has been but one-third of its ordinary proportions, and over 100,000 of the foreigners who had come here, have in the year returned to the countries from which they came.

Such a thing has never before been known; and strange indeed it is that so many people who have tried to find the means of life in the "land of the free and the home of the brave," have felt compelled to make both freedom and bravery subordinate to their daily bread.

For one man, I do not like to think of the unprecedented fact, which must be put to our discredit.

We can handle this question of immigration as we can handle that of machinery (chap. I.), and that of the plundering of the commonwealth (chap. II.). But the whole work must be done with a measure of energy far greater than has ever yet been seen among us.






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HULL'S HALL, STRIKERS' HEADQUARTERS, CHICAGO, ILL.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NOVELTY OF A LAND FAMINE—ITS BEARING
UPON LABOR.

 LOOKING back at the three preceding chapters of this book, it can now be said that, even if the amount, and the power, and the variety of useful machinery were enlarged to any conceivable extent—even if the wealth in the hands of the nabobs were far greater than it is now, and even if the flood of immigration from abroad were to be kept up at the high-water mark—there would still be hope for everybody if good land were, as it was in the days not far off, within everybody's reach. But there has been a change in this respect, as in other respects, since the present generation came on the stage. It is not so very long ago that our star-spangled orators liked to boast of every man's right to the occupancy, upon easy terms, of a farm in almost any part of those "boundless tracts of fertile land," stretching far beyond the Mississippi toward the setting sun.

That proud boast is never to be heard any more. A man cannot now, as formerly he could,

squat upon or preëempt his quarter section of 160 acres anywhere between the Cinnamon River and the Yellowstone, between the Father of Waters and the Rocky Mountains, between those mountains and the Pacific Ocean. The free lands of other years are fenced in. A large part of them is occupied by actual settlers; other parts are held by the grasping railroad corporations or by syndicates; other parts are owned by the bonanza rings, foreign and domestic; other parts can be made useful only through an extensive system of irrigation, under the direction of the government, at the expense of the treasury.

The last of the public lands open for settlement were those of Oklahoma, with the Cherokee Outlet and regions adjacent thereto. We can all recall the wild rush of hundreds of thousands of people a few years ago, to get hold of these lands at the government price of \$1.50 per acre. We recall the reports about the boomers, the sooners, the grabbers, and what not—the sketches of the hordes of anxious home-seekers, men and women, in wagons, on horseback, or afoot, who besieged for weeks or months the borders of the coveted domains, and who had to be kept in order by the forces of the regular army. There would doubtless have been ten times more, or twice ten times more, of these home-seekers, but for the fact that it was known everywhere that far too many of

them were already on the ground long before the period fixed for the opening.

It is probable that, if the area open for settlement at the period spoken of, had been a hundred times, or a thousand times, greater than it was, every acre of it would have been in the possession of home-seekers very soon after the land offices were ready for business.

Were there now, as once there were, a plenty of public lands for all settlers, the outlook for the future of labor would be far more hopeful than it is.

I believe that there are yet, in the far Northwest, some Indian reservations, not very extensive, that are likely to be opened for white settlement in the course of time; but, as that time approaches, perhaps along in the twentieth century, we shall peradventure again behold scenes like those of recent date at Oklahoma and thereabout.

Many of the needy people of the country would take to the plow if land were within their reach, as it was within that of their progenitors; but where can they now go to find it?

Here again, then, is a question that cannot be overlooked by those who would take account of the existing state of things, or of the outlook.

In a speech delivered before the Senate in July, 1894, by Senator Davis, of Minnesota, I notice the following remark:

Five millions of the people of the United States, or forty-five per cent. of our producing population, are farmers ; and it is this class, more than any other, that have a right to call themselves the American people.

Well, Mr. Senator, I say "Fair play for the farmers," a large proportion of whom are among the sufferers of our times. Let us admit that they are the American people, or, at all events, an essential, vital, and powerful part thereof. I shall try to find the opportunity to take up their case hereafter.

When I first went beyond the Mississippi, in the Spring of 1857, to get my share of the public lands, I had a choice of perhaps a half-million or more quarter sections in a single territory, which has since become a State. I mounted my mule, traveled hundreds of miles over the unsettled prairies, picked out a fine "claim" upon the banks of a lovely river, entered it at the nearest land office, paid the small sum required, and became the independent owner of a farm in a trice. I cut some logs for a shanty, "broke up" a part of the soil, got some seed-corn for planting, found a neighbor who knew more than I knew, and saw my way to a life of plenty, if not even of good luck. I felt free as the genial winds which blew over the plains, rich as the soil which belonged to me, and happy as any citizen of the country whose bounty I enjoyed.

That is the way we used to do, if such were our will, in times yet fresh in the memory of people who are not far beyond middle age.

Millions of other men did the same thing at that time and subsequently, as they had done it previously. They are now the holders of farms from which they can derive at least the means of life, hard though life has become to many of them.

Had we yet, as once we had, public lands awaiting settlement on the old terms, there is no doubt that a large proportion of the unemployed and of those who toil hopelessly for paltry wages, which do not enable them to live as everyone ought to live, would take them up after the manner of their predecessors.

There is not any opportunity for them to do so.

If they could, there would be less "surplus labor" in the market; the violence of competition between all classes of wage-workers would be lessened; the pay for both common and skilled labor in the cities would be largely increased; the prevalent misery would be reduced in volume; and the conditions of life for the whole community would be improved.

The usufruct of the common soil is not within the reach of the men of this generation as it was within that of those of other generations in our country.

This is a change of deep significance and of incalculable importance. The consequences of it must be felt even more seriously than they have yet been felt.

What is to be done about it? We cannot enlarge the area of our land, nor can work for the unemployed masses be procured on the farms now under cultivation.

Some slight and temporary relief for a part of these masses might be gained if the government were to retrieve the losses suffered at the hands of the land-grabbing corporations, or if it were to provide for a comprehensive system of irrigation applicable to the arid lands, or if certain changes in our method of land-taxation were brought about.

But, notwithstanding what has been said, there are yet millions upon millions of acres of uncultivated land in the country, and neither Texas nor Arkansas, neither Wyoming nor Washington are the only States in which they may be seen. The problem of bringing them within the reach of the stalwart men who would like to use them, and who would make good use of them, is not easy of solution. Anything I might say here upon the subject would be unsatisfactory to myself, as I think it would be to others, and I can but hope that, in view of its gravity, thoughtful people of good intent may be led to give heed to it. It can be dealt with wisely by American thinkers.

My only object here at this time is to try to turn public attention to the question as it affects the prevalent industrial conditions, and to refer to the importance of the change that has been brought about in our country since the time in which we heard the refrain of that old American song: "Vote yourself a farm!"

The farmers have no reason to fear any increase of their number in the event of land becoming more accessible to the needy. The demand for the various products of the soil would be vastly greater than it is—perhaps twice or thrice greater—if the masses possessed the means of procuring them. The consuming power of New York, of Chicago, and of other cities, would be doubled within a year if the whole body of their inhabitants were as fully employed as they would be under a logical order of industry, and if they enjoyed those rewards for their labor to which they are entitled. Thus the farmer, the trader, the mechanic, and the laborer—the toilers in all places and of both sexes—would be enriched and elevated, to the general advantage of the community and of all the sixty or seventy millions of its members.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMPETITION OF WOMEN—ITS WIDENING
INFLUENCE.

IN the foregoing chapter, I have made an allusion to the female wage-workers, the enormous multiplication of whom in this age and country has been the cause of essential changes in many lines of labor. I do not refer to those women who are employed in domestic service, but to the legions of them in the factories, in many of the skilled trades, and in numerous branches of production and business. Over a million women are engaged in pursuits which formerly, so far as they existed, furnished employment to workers of the other sex. I need not here enumerate these pursuits ; but I may say that I have seen thousands of women at work as operatives in the New England mills, thousands more of them at work in making clothing for both sexes in the cities, thousands more of them engaged in the lighter handicrafts and in running the lesser machinery, and yet thousands more of them earning their living in offices and shops, as also by typewriting, telegraphy, and what not else.

The women are in industrial competition with the men now-a-days to an extent unknown a generation ago. Their competition has been one of the causes of the diminution of employment for men, and of the lessening of wages, and of other revolutionary changes in the older order of things.

We cannot reverse this change. Women have their rights as well as men, and I am one of those people who believe in their exercising them as fully as they desire. As things are in our times, many of them must work to live, for they have not any means of support other than their own hands. I myself, while a "maker of newspapers," employed women, whom I found efficient, faithful, and well disposed—some of them most excellent writers, and others serviceable in the mechanical parts of the business.

The employment of legions of women in our modern industries, in competition with men, their brothers or fathers, has had a powerful influence in the lowering of wages. They work for less pay than men; and hence, wherever they can be made available, they are hired by the employers in preference to men. I know of female type-setters, for example, who set type, under the piece system, for one-third less per 1,000 ems than the price charged by the other sex, according to the rules of the Typographical Unions; and other

people can tell of plenty of other trades in which the cost of women's labor is far below that of men's.

Of course, this ought not to be so, but it is so. Its influence is increasing more and more all the time with the increase in the number of women who enter the trades.

The employment of women in handicrafts, and in the operation of machinery, is not a novelty of our times ; but it has reached proportions vastly greater than those which it had a quarter of a century ago. In some lines of productive industry the main body of the workers are women ; in other lines women constitute one-half of the people engaged in them, while in yet many other lines they constitute an element strong enough to affect seriously the whole number of wage-earners therein employed. They intensify the existing competition and lower the current rates of pay.

I repeat here that I uphold the right of women to seek for work at any industry or in any branch of business which any of them may desire to follow, but I must also repeat that the employment of more than one million women in the productive industries of our country is not favorable to the men who were formerly the sole masters of these industries.

There is every probability that the number of women thus employed at this time will be farther enlarged in the years that are at hand.

Now, then, I believe that the industrial competition of women with their male relatives would be very largely reduced if the means of life were otherwise within their reach ; or, in other words, if the working men got the pay necessary for the support of their sisters, or daughters, or wives.

Few women would toil in a mill if they could help it. Few would seek for jobs in a tobacco factory, or a sweater's tenement, or a press-room, or behind a counter, or in any other disagreeable place, if they could avoid it. The low rates of wages for men in many industries are, in large measure, the cause of the competition of women. A father of a family finds that he cannot earn enough at his trade for the maintenance of his household ; he asks his daughter, or, in many a case, his wife, to help him to eke out a living ; and she does her best for their mutual benefit. A brother cannot support his sister, and she goes to the factory to support herself. A husband needs such wages as his wife can earn, besides such as he himself may earn, for the sustenance of their children, and she sets out to find any kind of employment that can be got, upon any terms that may be offered. I know that the pay in the cheap clothing trades, at which between thirty and forty

thousand people are employed in New York City alone, has become so pitiful that the work of both the husband and the wife, both the boy and the girl of the family, for the livelong day, is needed for the payment of rent and the purchase of food that is often unfit for consumption.

Is not this a cruel state of things? Should not the head of a family and the young men whom he has fathered be able to earn by their labor enough to support the family in decency?

The women who do men's work for pay less than that of men, injure their own male kin, throw that kin out of work, make it impossible for that kin to support the family, and bring upon all concerned sufferings the aggregate of which is inconceivable.

The evils that arise from female competition, as it now exists, will be largely obviated when workmen can earn enough for the proper support of their families. The number of women who compete with men will be very largely reduced as soon as the daughters, sisters, and wives of the workmen can get an honorable livelihood without setting themselves in hostility to the interests of their fathers, their brothers, and the men who are, or who will be their husbands.

The wage-workers of our country, by using bravely, intelligently, and persistently those agencies of power which are already in their

hands, can bring about a change in the state of things.

That change can be brought about within the few remaining years of the Nineteenth century.

Brethren! should we not strive with all our might for the betterment of life and labor before the Twentieth century shall be ushered in?



CHAPTER VI.

A FEW CURSORY REMARKS.



THE foregoing chapters, touching upon certain serious questions that must be taken into consideration very soon by the American people, are but hasty sketches, far less satisfactory to myself than I would like them to be. For the full and orderly treatment of each one of them a volume would be required.

THE REVOLUTION THROUGH MACHINERY.

I. The revolution in the modern industries that have been caused by the new machinery of the age, though it has proved disadvantageous in many ways to an untold host of workers, may speedily be turned to their practical advantage. We cannot form any conception of the number or nature of the other mechanical appliances that will yet be invented for industrial use, but we may take it for granted that they will be numerous and potent and labor-saving. We cannot form any conception of the character of the yet unused forces of nature that may hereafter be made serviceable in production, but it is very likely that they will be of surpassing importance in their influence upon labor. Even the tremendous power of Niagara Falls will very soon be made available

for propulsive purposes, and the uses of electricity are ever becoming more and more extensive. I say that these mechanical agencies and natural energies, instead of benefiting a few men at the expense of the many, ought to be made subservient to the general welfare. The people, acting through the government, should take control and possession of them.

THE PLUTOCRACY IN ACTION.

2. It is impossible to overrate the importance of putting a check upon the power and the manœuvring of the newly-formed plutocratic class, in whose hands are billions of capital, which they wield for their own purposes, regardless of the common good. It is a domineering class, and its domination is not far from supreme. It constitutes a government within the government, of which, indeed, it has become the master. As it now exists, it is a creation of the past thirty years. Its influence is greater than that of the moneyed class in any other country of the world. It is into politics from head to heels, and it forms alliances with servile politicians as a means of self-defence. It has this very year made demonstrations in Congress and elsewhere, the like of which were never before seen, and it has been able to use the public powers, Federal and State, to an extent never previously equalled. From the multi-millionaire, Havemeyer, we have heard of

the "politics of the Sugar Trust," and from others we have heard of the "politics" of the railroads, the corporations, the banking institutions, the oil, the whiskey, the electrical, the coal, the white lead, the freestone, and I know not how many other interests. They block legislation at their will, or enact it at their pleasure. This sort of thing must prove ruinous, ere long, to a democratic-republican system of government. It can be changed only through the enactment of laws grounded in genuine democratic principles, under which the oligarchy will no longer be permitted to ravage the community, and through which the community will recover those franchises and privileges, those rights and goods, which have unhappily been surrendered to the public enemy.

THE ALIEN HORDS.

3. We must put a check upon that unlimited immigration, which has been promoted by the large labor-employers and corporations, which has been used to advance their schemes and fortunes, which has brought suffering upon itself, and which has intensified the suffering of millions of others. This check ought to be adopted without delay, and we need have no difficulty in compelling its adoption.

4. THE LAND FAMINE.

5. WOMEN AGAINST MEN.

Such suggestions as I am able to make upon these subjects have already been made.



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CHAPTER VII.

UNIONS AND THEIR AIMS—STRIKES AND THEIR USES.



THE trade and labor Unions of the United States have become a formidable power within the present generation. Without going into details, or far into statistics here, it may be said that the members enrolled in the whole body of them number not far from two millions, or about one-half of the wage-workers of the country, leaving out the unorganized tradeswomen and also the Southern blacks. There are national bodies like the American Federation and like the Order of the Knights of Labor, in which many Unions are combined to carry out certain general purposes, and there are hundreds of other organizations not in association with any national body. The five Unions of rail-
roaders—from engineers to switchmen—which existed before the founding of the American Railway Union two years ago, are national in their scope, and so is the last-named Union. The Typographical Union is national, and so is the Brotherhood of Carpenters, and so are perhaps as many as one hundred other Unions of as many separate trades. A number of these bodies bear

the word "International" in their title, and some of them are more or less affiliated with Unions in foreign parts, but I do not recall any case in which American and European organizations have combined in the execution of any international object, or have gone much beyond the expression of sympathy for each other in times of trouble. It is unquestionable, however, that there is a tendency toward internationalism on the part of the workers in many of the civilized countries of the world. It has been for a good many years a familiar motto: "Workers of the World, Unite!"

In the Registry of the National Trade Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, I find the titles of eighty organizations of skilled workmen, many of which are very strong in numbers. Thus the membership of the Carpenters' Brotherhood is put by its secretary at 63,000; that of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers at 45,000; that of the Iron Moulders' Union at 36,000; that of the Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' Union at 33,500; that of three of the railroad brotherhoods at over 60,000; that of the Cigarmakers' Union at 27,500; and that of ten of the other Unions at figures ranging from 10,000 to 20,000 a piece (in round numbers.) According to the Register, the eighty unions belonging to the Federation had last year a membership running up toward 700,000.

The numerical strength of the Order of Knights of Labor (in which there are organizations of other than skilled labor, and also some women), is not nearly as great as it was ten years ago, for reasons which need not be told of here ; but, even if it be less than one-quarter as strong as it once was, it is safe to estimate the membership of the Federation, the Order, and the young American Railway Union at over 1,000,000.

The other 1,000,000 of the 2,000,000 Unionists spoken of above are in countless organizations not connected with either of the powerful Federal bodies named, though it must be said that, in many cases, their lists of members are not open to inspection, and the estimate of their aggregate strength must be made from some reports that are procurable, and from other evidence that cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Many of the organizations in the second category are of labor that is ordinarily called common.

I have not spoken of the organized bodies of farmers, some of which were very strong a few years ago. It is out of my power to give trustworthy data respecting the old Alliances, Granges, and other agricultural bodies for the year 1894 : but it can be said that some of them are yet "alive and kicking," more especially in the West and South. They have certainly exercised a very great and desirable influence. It was in virtue of

the movement which originated with them that nearly the whole of the impressive vote for the new Populist party (1,041,000) was cast in 1892, when General James B. Weaver, of Iowa, was the party's candidate for the office of President of the United States. All but a small fraction of that auspicious vote was polled by the rural voters of the Northwestern, the Southern, and the Pacific States of the Union.

It thus seems fair to say that the organized Unionism and the organized Populism of the country in these times are represented by as many as 3,000,000 men, all of whom are interested in certain grave questions in the settlement of which, the whole of them are deeply concerned.

I have not thus far referred to the Socialist organizations or the Socialist party, which have been in lively growth for the past few years, more particularly in the larger cities. The real strength of the party has never been manifested in any vote it has yet cast, national or local. It is assuredly an influential party, though its power has not been fully organized. It is an earnest party, and it has definite principles, policies, and purposes. Its influence is permeating many industrial unions which are not socialistic, and is surely affecting all labor. If it does not grow rapidly before the end of the century now closing, the signs of the times are misleading.

The more than 3,000,000 organized citizens already alluded to, constitute one-quarter of the voting population of the country. It is easy to conceive that their number may increase before the next Presidential election until they constitute a far greater proportion of it. Let the imaginative or enthusiastic citizen make such forecast of it as may be acceptable to him.

I have said that this multitude of citizens have certain high interests as against the interests of the plutocracy. I say that they ought to strive to secure those interests through united public action. They can secure many of them, even though in the minority. They can make a beginning of the work which must be done.

The objects of the first trade and labor Unions organized in the United States (as of those once existing in Great Britain) were very narrow. They were petty institutions, unlawful in many places ; they were timid ; the measure of their control in any trade was small ; they were mainly for good-fellowship ; the strikes into which they were occasionally forced were local and feeble, often but "shop-strikes." There was no such need of great strikes in old times as there is at the present time. The industrial conditions now-a-days are different from what they were when yet triumphant capitalism had not made its appearance in America.

Unionism has now become a thing of vast proportions, as may be seen by the figures printed in this chapter. It is the bulwark of labor ; it is of national scope ; it is solidly established ; its hosts are more numerous than were those which "fought to a finish" the black labor question in the last generation ; the range of its purposes has been loftily extended ; it seeks to act upon the law-making powers ; it does not fear to confront organized capital ; its strikes often shake the country ; it has many a time raised a panic in the enemy's ranks ; it has often had occasion to stand up against the militia forces of the States ; it has recently been made the object of unexpected attack by our regular army, under the order of President Cleveland.

With the extension of its breadth and strength, year after year, Unionism has revised the old rules of action. It has adopted new policies ; it has come to regard the government as an instrument of which it must make use ; it demands certain measures of legislation, the gaining of which will be followed by other demands ; it raises platforms like those upon which the Federation and the Knights of Labor are now planted, and which will surely be raised far higher yet.

Labor is coming to realize that, while the legislative, executive, judicial, and belligerent powers of the government are controlled by capitalism,

there can be no guarantee for the rights of man, for popular enfranchisement, or for the safety of labor.

In thus thinking and acting, it has taken the "American way," under which "all just powers of the government are derived from the consent of the governed," and under which the government itself is but the constitutional agent of the popular will.

Legislation is not, or rather I may say, it ought not to be, the exclusive privilege of the moneyed classes and corporations. It should be the expression of the desires of the masses who are lawfully empowered to rule, under our free political system.

While waiting for that time in which juster laws for labor can be enacted, Unionism is compelled to resort to all sorts of temporary expedients in self defence.

One of these expedients is the strike, with its sometimes useful adjunct—the boycott.

The strike is a logical expedient, which may be highly serviceable so long as existing industrial conditions remain unchanged. The records show that the strike is successful in a large proportion of cases. It is often labor's only means of defence. The fear of it often restrains the hand of capital; and often, even when it appears to fail it brings about a partial redress of the wrongs

against which it was aimed. Besides all, there is, to my mind, a philosophical aspect of the strike, upon which I shall not dwell. It has been influential in leading labor to think of its own sorry condition, of the cruel domination of capital over it in our time, of the dangerous schemes of the new and vicious oligarchy, and of the ways and means by which a better order of things can be set up under law.

A strike is a practical protest, or a revolt, frequently successful, against wrongs which may be unendurable. It is resorted to only when rendered necessary by the oppressive action of capital, exercised either against the strikers or against any portion of their brethren with whom they have interests or sympathies in common. I am a believer in the "sympathetic strike," which I regard as the highest and noblest expression of fraternity.

This is an epoch of strikes, many of which are of unparalleled magnitude, while the lesser ones may be numbered by hundreds every year, and by the thousand in some years. They are for better wages or against wage reduction ; they are for a shorter working day or against intolerable hardship in labor ; they are for the gaining of some important right or against some grievous wrong ; they may last for months or be ended in weeks or days ; they may be lost or won ; there may be a

compromise between the parties ; in later times a Union may strike in aid of another Union on the strike, a holier act than which no man can ever perform, an act in accord with Paul's injunction to the Hebrews of his time : "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them ; and them which suffer adversity as being yourselves of their body."

I shall hereafter in the course of this book take a glance at the principal strikes that have occurred in this generation of American workingmen.

There has not been among them all one of wider extent or affecting more persons and interests, or of a more impressive nature, or of more unselfish purpose, than the strike of the brave young American Railway Union, in the Summer of 1894, under the masterly leadership of its President, Eugene V. Debs.

The central battle-ground was Chicago ; the field of operations extended from the Alleghany Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

Some of the features of this colossal, though brief, campaign must ever stand out in the history of the ever-renewed struggle of labor for freedom during the last half of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE THUNDERING STRIKE—CHICAGO AND THE EX-
PANSE—JUNE AND JULY, 1894.



THE country was taken by surprise on Tuesday, the 26th of June, when dispatches were sent out from Chicago to the papers, that the American Railway Union—a body not long in existence—had “put a boycott” upon the Pullman palace cars, used by a large proportion of all the railroads of the United States.

Few people outside of that Union—and probably few of its members—had any idea of the full significance or potency of this act. Nobody could have foreseen the gravity of the consequences that were soon to grow out of it, or the way it would affect the public mind, or its results to the railroad corporations, or its influence upon the Federal Government, or the strain it would put upon organized capital and organized labor, or the policy of President Cleveland in regard to it, or the incidents—some of them lurid and bloody—which were to take place within the ensuing fortnight.

Most people doubtless supposed that the boycott “would not amount to anything,” and that

the Union could not contend, even for a day, with the power of the associated companies to which it had issued a challenge. "The Union will back down," said one. "The companies will give in," said another. "It will soon blow over," said others. "There will be some kind of a compromise," thought many.

We Americans are rather an easy-going set at times. We cannot look ahead. We do not know how to interpret the stars. We are apt to think that everything will be all right to-morrow. The newspapers are often humorous, in a fashion.

The week before the boycott was declared, the American Railway Union, sitting in convention at Chicago, had listened to a statement of the grievances of the workingmen of the Pullman Company, located in that part of Chicago called Pullman, and under the presidency of George M. Pullman, a man whose name has long been familiar by reason of its association with that style of railroad car of which he is the manufacturer; a man, moreover, who has become one of the multi-millionaires of the age, through the profits of his business. His workingmen, several thousand in number, had been on strike for nearly two months against wages so low that they declared they could barely live upon them. They had presented their case to him and had been answered with insolence. When he heard of the possibility

of a strike, why, that would just suit him. When his men struck, he spoke of the act with contempt. When, after they had entered into the strike, they begged him to submit the case to arbitration, he treated their appeal scornfully. It was only when they were worn out and had lost all hope, and could see no way of relief, that they made an appeal for help to that Union, the members of which operate the railroads of those companies by which the Pullman cars are used. The Union appointed a judicious committee, with instructions to ask Boss Pullman to enter into arbitration with his distressed workmen. The committee was refused a hearing. The next step of the Union, and the only one to be taken, was to request the railroad companies which they served, to cut off the Pullman cars attached to the trains, hoping thus to lead Pullman to consent to arbitration. The companies would not grant this request. The Union then determined, as a last resort, to boycott Pullman's cars and to stop work on every line that used them.

The great strike was on.

The time was noon of Tuesday.

FIRST DAY.

By sunset, the strike had been felt upon the Illinois Central system and several other lines, even as far West as St. Paul. There was embar-

rassment at many places, within a circuit of nearly a thousand miles.

SECOND DAY.

Next day, the telegraphers at hundreds of widely separated stations were kept busy in sending to the storm-centre at Chicago the news of the astounding operations of the boycotters. Fifteen lines of railroads were tied up; 5,000 members of the Union had quit work; a good many members of the railroad brotherhoods, not in the new Union, had joined hands with the strikers, though their officers forbade them to do so; the workers at many mechanical trades declared their readiness to co-operate with the Union; trains were paralyzed in Colorado, New Mexico, California, and on both the Southern and the Northern Pacific routes.

The Unionists at Chicago were jubilant; the corporations were alarmed; the country was growing excited.

THIRD DAY.

On the third day the magnitude of the strike was vastly enlarged, and the power of the Union was made manifest over more than one-half of the country. Over 40,000 railroaders were out. One of the greatest battles ever fought between organized labor and organized capital was in progress. The Railway Managers' Association had

taken the field against the Unionists in their service. Neither passengers nor freight could be carried by any of the important railroad companies doing business west of Chicago, while Eastern traffic was greatly affected. The report that one company had voluntarily side-tracked its boycotted cars was welcomed by the boycotters. The Southern Pacific Company could not move a wheel; all California was train-bound; the Santa Fé road was tied up; northward as far as Montana transportation had been brought to an end. The strikers had not disturbed the public peace anywhere. They were pacific and conciliatory, as their President had asked them to be. They were ready to go to work at any moment for any company that would cut off the offensive Pullmans. There never had been in the United States a more remarkable display of the power and the genius of Unionism.

"We will fight to the bitter end," said the spokesman of the corporations, which were now scouring the country for blacklegs to take the places of the Unionists. They also resorted to sundry dishonorable devices to bring the strikers into conflict with the Federal Government, the aid of which they invoked, under the false pretext that the mails had been interfered with, and on the ground that, as several of the principal roads were in the hands of Federal receivers, they were

entitled to military protection. They realized that they were already beaten unless they could get the government to crush the strike. They were panic-struck. Capitalists everywhere were trembling for their money-bags.

THE FOURTH DAY.

On the fourth day the field of operations was still further enlarged. Upon the one side stood the conquering Union, 125,000 strong; upon the other, the General Managers' Association, in which was then embodied twenty of the leading railroad companies of the country, with lines extending from Lake Erie to the Pacific, running to all points of the compass, and resting upon paper and water of the nominal value of hundreds of millions of dollars. The last-named body had been organized to crush out the Union at all hazards. The Union seemed well able to bring it to terms by lawful and peaceful means, if left free to do so, in a fair field, with no favor. The Union had kept within legal bounds from the first, merely refusing to run any train to which a Pullman car was attached. By this time both sides were straining every nerve to win, and each side admitted that defeat would be a serious set-back to it. There were strikes on sundry roads that had not previously been affected. The electric wires were still laden with dispatches from hun-

dreds of places about the application of the crippling boycott. "The men have gone out here," was the cry that came from every quarter of twenty States. The imperious president of one road was now anxious that his men should take that "sober second thought," which he would not take himself. President Debs, of the Railway Union, appealed to his fellow-unionists to "refrain from any act of violence or depredation, and from any interference with the affairs of the several companies involved." The day ended with both sides yet in opposing array, one side proud of its success so far, the other apprehensive of the future. The marshals, sheriffs, and police had been more than usually obtrusive at some points in the maintenance of order, which, however, was very easily maintained everywhere.

FIFTH DAY.

On the fifth day, again the strike was yet in the ascendant. It was felt now in the Gould system, the Union Pacific, the Monon, and elsewhere. There were reports about it from Tennessee to Oregon; it was daily growing more and more effective; the outcry of the corporations had become very hoarse: "Help us or we sink!" General Master Workman Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, pledged the support of his order to the Union. The trade and labor organizations of



SAMUEL GOMPERS
President American Federation of Labor

Chicago, with a membership of 150,000, declared that they were ready for a general strike in all branches of industry, if it were necessary. Numerous successes were gained for the strike. Some few trains to which Pullmans were attached reached the Chicago depots. The Associated Managers held an executive session, at which they gave notice that, though the strike had become embarrassing, serious, and wide-spread, they would enter into no compromise whatever.

Now came the first demand for the help of the militia ; it was urged by the Illinois Central, which declared that its property at Cairo was endangered, and the demand was granted by Governor Altgeld, who sent there three companies which had no trouble in keeping the peace. Union leaders were arrested in Indiana and Missouri. Federal judges took pains to make their jurisdiction known. Squads of deputy marshals were engaged in a dozen States. Attorney-General Olney began to show his hand. It had become evident that the corporations were fully aware they would be beaten unless they could get the United States Government to enter upon war in their defence.

SIXTH DAY.

On the sixth day, which was the 1st of July, the boycott was yet closer in twenty States and against

twenty-seven railroad corporations, than it had been at any other time. The Rock Island Managers announced that all their trains had been abandoned. The carriage of passengers and freight was interrupted in every direction, excepting eastward, where it was vastly less than usual. The Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly could hardly be restrained from coming out. The excitement ran high in Chicago and elsewhere. Both sides stood firm. All this time the working railroaders in the Eastern and Southern States of the country had held aloof from their Western brethren, partly because the Railway Union had not yet got a foothold in those States, and partly because of the overshadowing influence there of the "conservative" Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; but now there were signs that the Unionist boycott might extend to Northern New York, if not also to Pennsylvania.

The corporations were desperate. Attorney-General Olney came to their relief. The Federal District Attorney in Chicago was reënforced by special counsel; an additional body of Federal Marshals were sworn in and armed with "riot guns," so that, as Marshal Arnold said, "We can soon dispose of 50,000 rioters." A regiment of the regular army, the Fifteenth Infantry, was ordered to Chicago by President Cleveland, without any request from the Governor of Illinois; peace-

ful members of the Railway Union were arrested and imprisoned, not only in Chicago, but also in other parts of the country, on the charge of conspiracy. This unexpected assertion of Federal power created wide-spread surprise. "There was no need of it," said the State officials. There had been no disorder anywhere worth speaking of, and the very few very trifling instances of it could not be charged upon the American Railway Union or its members. The authorities of the city of Chicago and of the State of Illinois were highly offended by the President's action, as they had again and again given assurance of their ability to maintain order under all circumstances. The Unionists themselves had offered to undertake its maintenance in their ranks, believing that they could most readily gain their end by peaceful methods, as well-disposed citizens. But the extraordinary conduct of President Cleveland, his un-called for and unjustifiable intermeddling in a case which would soon have been settled in favor of the Unionists, through the rare genius, pacific policy, and masterly strategy of their leader, EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, gave indescribable delight to the insensate corporations, to the blockhead Pullman, to the capitalist rings, to the plutocratic organs, and to the corrupt bosses of both political parties. The Managers were filled with hope. They boasted of immediate success. The Presi-

dent was with them. The invincible government of the United States was behind them.

It was a dark night for freedom, for labor, and for the Republic when a Democratic President took sides with their enemy.

SEVENTH DAY.

On the seventh day of the strike, the Federal Military power was supreme in Chicago, and in Illinois, and in all of the States where the boycott had been applied. The situation was one of gravity, not unlike that of martial law. The regular army took control of things, despite the urgent remonstrances of State authorities. The Federal judges, Wood and Grosscup, issued in Chicago the most sweeping injunction ever issued by a Federal Court in a time of peace, one which the first named of these men described as a "Gatling gun on paper." It absolutely enjoined the officers of the American Railway Union (whose names were given), from the further prosecution of the boycott, and even from "persuading" any person to take part in it. [See Appendix.] It was a veritable drag-net, and was designed to terminate at once and by force the application of that peaceful, proper, and lawful agency, the boycott, if not to crush out the brave Union itself. It has been characterized as "one of those peculiar legal instruments that punishes an individual

for doing a certain thing, and is equally merciless if he refrains from doing it." [See Appendix.] Under the interpretation given to it by the Federal District Attorney, thousands of boycotters might be seized every day by deputy marshals empowered to make arbitrary arrests, arraigned before the bar, and summarily punished for contempt of court. Yet this Gatling gun on paper did not frighten the Union or its brave President any more than the riot guns of the marshals or the bayonets of the regular army, even though Debs and other of its officers were liable to arrest under it.

The boycott was not lifted, and it did not cease to be operative. The troops and marshals were active at this time along the railroads under their charge; and arrests were made here and there. It could not, however, be called a satisfactory "reign of terror" to the terrorists, who, indeed, did not seem to be able to terrify the Unionists. There were new demonstrations of Union power at this time; the stock-yards of Chicago were unable to do business; the lake traffic was in a bad way; and the various boycotted railroads were crippled nearly as much as ever, though they had tempted a number of blacklegs to enter their service. The boycotted lines in Indiana, Michigan, and Ohio were more affected than formerly. Only a passing allusion has yet been made here to the state of things in California,

where railroad business had been completely blocked from the first, and where nearly the whole population, militia and all, were in full sympathy with the Union movement.

EIGHTH DAY.

Upon the eighth day of the strike and boycott there was not any serious change in the situation. The Unionists were as strong as ever, and there was an increase of their number in several places. The marshals, militia, and police had a good deal of small work in hand, mostly imposed upon them unnecessarily at the instigation of the railroads, which desired the help of the Federal administration, the State executives, and the municipal officers, even while they themselves were as obstinate and uncompromising as they were inefficient and cowardly. The Grosscup injunction was served upon President Debs, who took it in good spirit. He had suggested that a white ribbon should be the emblem of the strike, and tens of thousands of working people now wore it on their bosom. The boycott was still close in most directions; the number of blacklegs hired by the corporations had increased. The officials of the old Brotherhoods still thwarted the desire of many of the members to co-operate with the Union. The capitalist pluck now seemed to be swelling, on the outside.

NINTH DAY.

Upon the ninth day of the strike (which was the glorious Fourth of July) there were gloomy forebodings in many parts of the country. The worst of them were in Chicago, the streets of all parts of which, were full of excited sympathizers with the strike. The hours of the national holiday were alive with passion there from morning till night. At one time, a half of a battalion of regulars, with rifles leveled and revolvers ready, made their way through a dense mass of men, women and children to the stock-yards, amid experiences not characteristic of the star-spangled banner, but fortunately without using their weapons against the incensed people. Trains were uncoupled, one of them by women; cars were derailed, Pullmans were side-tracked, freight cars were burned, and scores of petty disturbances were reported, for not one of which could the Unionists be held responsible. The militia were under arms to "preserve order," not only in Illinois, but in eighteen or twenty other States. Meanwhile, the General Managers' Association celebrated the independence of the Republic by sending out notice that they had not held, and would not hold, any conference with the municipal authorities or any other party, with a view to compromise or arbitration or any kind of a settlement of the matters in dispute. Their obstinancy surpassed that

of King George III. In California the day was rendered notable by the fact that the militia, called out against the strikers at Sacramento refused to obey the order to charge upon them. And this is not the only case in which bodies of militia have shown their unwillingness to fire upon labor in July of 1894. There may be stuff for thought here.

TENTH DAY.

On the tenth day of the strike, there were what the reporters call "wild scenes" in a number of places. There were several of these scenes in different parts of Chicago in the forenoon and the afternoon, when crowds of unemployed working people with their wives and children—perhaps twice ten thousand or more in number—were at large near the localities in which regular troops and Federal marshals were stationed or in motion. The management of the regular troops was that of incompetence throughout. There was disorder on all hands. There were collisions in which wounds were given, but, happily, life was not sacrificed, though at one time the troops made a bayonet charge. Tracks were blocked by the angered crowds, switches were spiked, a freight train was stalled, a signal house was fired, and other deeds of violence were done, which could not be prevented by the troops at hand, whose quelling capacity was not up to the occasion.

At night again, after the regulars had left the stock-yards, a squabble occurred there, in which an insolent corporation agent used his revolver with effect upon two men in a crowd. This day was the worst yet in Chicago, and so serious were its incidents and so bad the results of them, that Governor Altgeld, a far-sighted statesman and as brave a soldier as any other who fought in our war for emancipation, felt impelled to telegraph at once to President Cleveland an extended and earnest remonstrance against the further use of Federal troops in the State of Illinois. [See Appendix). Cleveland is chargeable with gross discourtesy in curtly answering this appeal, as he afterwards answered another. Things looked disagreeable in Chicago. The corporations yelled to Washington for more regulars here, there, and everywhere. The conditions were nigh unto revolutionary at times. Labor in general still stood ready to "go out" as soon as certain anticipated events occurred. Hand-cuffed prisoners were brought into the city from places beyond it. "Special counsel" for the government raved as if crazy. At numerous points in several States more railroaders "went out," many of them members of other organizations than that which primarily started the strike. Demonstrations of sympathy with the strikers were made in the large cities everywhere. Not a few Federal judges lost

their judgment. A major-general and a marshal in California put their heads together and announced that they could not cope with the strike there, which was on top. Five companies of California militia assembled at their armory and declared their sympathy for the strike. On account of the railroad blockade in that State the mails had to be carried along the Pacific coast in steamers, and no mails could be sent eastward for over a week. The mayor of Chicago, and other officials, tried to get up schemes of arbitration, which came to nothing. In Colorado, Governor Waite stood up with the strikers and declared that Cleveland had no right to make war upon his State, yet, that very day, a squad of Federal troops arrested forty-eight of his constituents at Trinidad and took them before a Federal judge, who held them for trial. The strike, on its tenth day, was still "on" as ever, though some of the companies were able to move trains occasionally with picked-up crews. Meanwhile, the railroad lines in the Eastern States had been only slightly and indirectly affected, but their managers were filled with apprehension, and kept the regulars, the marshals, the militia, the police, and good-sized private armies on the lookout for danger. A volume could be filled with startling or stirring incidents of the tenth day of the high strike of organized labor against domineering capitalism.

ELEVENTH DAY.

The eleventh day of the strike was far more sensational than the previous day or any other.

President Cleveland, after consultation with the Secretary of War, and General Schofield and the strange-looking, absolute Olney, who runs the particular business of the Department of —, (but blot out the senseless word!) caused it to be made known that he possesses the authority to send, by his own will and motion, the whole of the regular army, and each of the uncounted regiments of the National Guard, and the full roster of marshals, with all necessary deputies, besides volunteers unnumbered, into any State or city that seems to him disorderly, regardless of governors, State lines, and all pretty traditions. It seems now that he will not “back down” before Governor Altgeld, or Governor Waite, or Governor Stone, or Governor Pennoyer, or any other governor or anybody else. It had been contemplated to issue an order to the regulars to fire into any “mob,” when proper; but that question was left by the President to the General or other officer in the field. True, there was even yet such a serious condition of affairs on the Northern Pacific road that no trains had been run over it for a week, and the regulars there had not yet been paid off for the month of June; but the supreme law shall be enforced, and the army shall have its money.

The question of declaring martial law at Chicago was postponed.

Now, of what account is all the other news of the eleventh day of the strike, or of any previous day, in comparison with this ugly news?

In presence of it, *mum* is the word.

Who cares now for the "wild scenes in Chicago," on the eleventh day, which were not any wilder than those of the tenth day; or for the "midnight glare of the burning freight cars fired by desperadoes whose weapon is the torch;" or for the wretches who have been tearing up tracks out at Spokane; or for the protest of Governor Stone, of Missouri; or for the way in which the mob looted the cars that were laden with dressed meats and potatoes; or for that daring striker; or for the undefeated women who fought and fled; or for the eighteen policemen who stood calmly amid a shower of stones until each one of them got ready to nab his foe and drag him to jail; or even for that inexplicable fool who played the mischief at the throttle? Who cares anything now about the alarm on the eleventh day at the capital of the Buckeye State; or about the condition of things at Toledo, Pittsburg, Hammond, Buffalo, Sacramento, Joliet, Cairo, Milwaukee, or Little Rock,—the news from all of which places, and from many others, was very interesting on the eleventh day?

The grim-visaged news of that memorable day was sent out from the White House in Washington and every American patriot who cares a continental button for his country should take an hour to think over it.

TWELFTH DAY.

Next came the twelfth day and the twelfth night of the strike, when there was bloodshed, the newspaper records of which have already become food for the bookworm.

I must ask the reader to pause here for a few minutes.



CHAPTER IX.

PAUSE FOR A FEW MINUTES.



I GUESS that if I had stood in Brother Debs's shoes on the twelfth day of the strike, or even on the eighth day of it, I would not have shown the pertinacity or the pluck which the master spirit of the American Railway Union then displayed. Had I been the President of that Union—thank Heaven, I was not!—it is likely that the course of events would have been altered, in so far as one man could alter it, on a day previous to the Fourth of July.

The circumstances of the case had undergone a fundamental change at the time spoken of.

At the opening of the strike the only enemy in front was the General Managers' Association, representing a number of railway companies, which very soon increased to as many as twenty-seven. As the Union comprised a great majority of the skilled workmen in the service of these companies ; as the request it presented to them was a very reasonable one, which could easily be granted ; as its action was peaceful, temperate, fair, and not against any proper interest, there was good ground to hope that the concession

which the Union earnestly sought, in behalf of thousands of suffering and helpless people at Pullman, would very soon be obtained. The prospects of success were excellent.

Presto, change !

On the ninth day of the strike, July 4th, there was brought into it a new feature of supreme importance, by which all the conditions of it were fundamentally changed. It then became manifest that all the power, the machinery, and the resources of the Federal Government were to be turned against the strike with remorseless ferocity and unreason.

Before that day there had been some sputtering of a few marshals, and some movements of small bodies of Federal troops toward Chicago, and some mumbling in Federal courts, and some menaces by the Attorney-General, and some ominous signs in Washington, and some scowls on the face of the adipose old functionary in the White House.

But certainly nobody foresaw the racket that was soon to be raised by these parties. Few people could have imagined that the American Government would ever take the unprecedented course which it then took. Hardly anybody who was fair-minded toward Grover Cleveland, and knew of his official and unofficial utterances at other times about the rights and wrongs of working-

people, could have believed that, in the midsummer of the second year of his last term of office he would have shown himself to be the cruelest and meanest of the foes of labor, or would have gone back upon his own record, or would have served as a shield for the buccaneering corporations which he had denounced, or would have blackened that page of his country's history upon which his own picture will yet be placed !

I hate to be compelled to speak thus of the man Cleveland,—who has this year stood out as a servile, mercenary and pusillanimous politician, the ally of money against manhood, full ready to exercise his power, real and assumed, for the enslavement of the laborious masses who elected him to office.

The last of the Democratic Presidents who preceded Grover Cleveland was James Buchanan, and it will be long before the American people can forget the dread events that happened soon after Buchanan gave place to the Illinois giant who bore the name of Abraham Lincoln.

The perpetuity of negro slavery seemed to be better assured in Buchanan's term than that of white serfdom is likely to be by the end of Cleveland's term.

I do not believe in the proverb that "revolutions never go backward;" yet, nevertheless, a revolution is apt to be dangerous to the thing



against which it is turned, even if the thing look as strong as our new plutocracy.

The prospects of the great strike of the American Railway Union were as good as need be, when the Government undertook the business of crushing it by force of arms and legal devices. It had extended from Chicago to the westernmost bounds of the United States. It was effective upon I know not how many tens of thousands of miles of railroad. It had not got a setback anywhere, and had grown stronger every day. The men engaged in it numbered over a hundred thousand, their lines were steady, and they acted with unanimity and enthusiasm. In their every deed, they kept within the law, which no provocation could induce them to break, and which their leader constantly urged them to sustain at all times. Hundreds of thousands of their fellow-workers stood ready to join them; and very nearly the whole of the working population of the United States were in full sympathy with them. Even the most "conservative" organizations (all but a very few of them), were touched by the inspiration which swelled the bosoms of their struggling fellow-unionists; and thousands of railroaders outside of the Union at the front joined with its members in the strike. These brethren at the front were struggling for rights which belong to all men, even to the coffle-gangs of Boss Pullman,

in whose behalf the "sympathetic strike" was declared.

Through the first week of the strike everything was favorable to it; and, at the end of that week, there was reason to believe that the question at issue would be settled within the next week. "Tied-up," or "blocked," or "trains stopped," was the message sent over the wires to Chicago from railroad stations in eighteen or twenty States. Fifteen great railroads, belonging to as many companies, were at a stand-still on the very first day of the strike, and within a few days a dozen more of them were added to the number. The strikers were the masters of the situation. California answered to Ohio, and Montana to Missouri.

Within three days, between 70,000 and 80,000 of the Unionists had exchanged the signal of fraternity, had clasped hands, and had taken the pledge of mutual support. Time was when the 'Wizard of the North' told of the bugle-horn of Roderick Dhu, "one blast upon which were worth a thousand men," but the sound of the bugle-blast of Brother Debs, blown at Chicago, echoed over a domain hundreds of times wider than all Scotland, and called to the field a hundred times more men than old Roderick's horn. Such a spectacle was never before witnessed, not even when the great railroad strike of 1877 shook the land.

The strike seemed sure of success. No wonder that its leader was confident of victory, and sent broadcast those bulletins in which it was predicted. Some of the railroad companies, overtaken by despair, were preparing to surrender.

Then it was that President Cleveland rushed into the fray on the wrong side. Then it was that the whole power of the regular army was directed against the winning strike, and put at the service of the scared corporations, which hold the pelf stolen from the country, while refusing to pay the debts which they owe it. Then it was that Olney began to issue his mandates under the authority of the Executive. Afterwards came Judge Grosscup with his "Gatling gun" charge to the Grand Jury. As it was in the case of the English "Light Brigade," at Balaklava, forty years ago, so it was in that of the strikers; there were "soldiers to right of them, soldiers to left of them, soldiers in front of them." As in the case of Balaklava, "all the world wondered," and again as in that case, "some one had blundered."

Upon the head of that Presidential blunderer, who is *not* a self-sacrificing hero like the Balaklava blunderer, be the responsibility for the lives lost and the mischief caused by his blunder, and for all the evils that will result from it hereafter!

If he had not lawful authority for the course which he took, he assumed it, knowing that he

could get plenty of legal and judicial shysters to justify him. If his conduct was in violation of our best traditions, he could fall back upon the "tyrant's plea, necessity." If he acted against the remonstrances of the Governors of States, he claimed the power to do so. We often read of "dictators" in Spanish-American countries; but where was ever the dictatorship of any one of them more complete than that of the man who was our President in July of 1894?

The tradition has been that a President could help a Governor in times of trouble when his help was asked; and it has been the custom for a Governor to appeal to a President only when his own powers were exhausted; but Cleveland wrenched the Constitution, spurned precedent, and disregarded the ways of the fathers, in order to defend that capitalism which is destroying our country. Laws can be turned to any account whatsoever. Everybody has heard of the Englishman who said he could "drive a coach-and-six through any law," or, I believe he said, "any act of Parliament." All the lawyers, including Cleveland, stand ready to do that job at any time for a fee. Then our Cleveland had the Inter-State Commerce Act and the postal laws at his back! He had also something else there, I guess.

Great is plutocracy; great are the corporations. They hold the reins of government.

Congress supported Cleveland's policy—both Houses of it. Its members were swept down the rapids with him, in a gilded barge.

Not a Governor of any State had asked Cleveland to call out the regular army during the strike, or to set the Federal courts in motion against the strikers, or against the outside brawlers who turned up in a few places. He had been assured by the Governors of the affected States that they were amply able to preserve the peace through the use of the militia and the service of the State judges. The National Guard was under arms whenever needed.

Now, the American Railway Union had not declared the strike *under the expectation of fighting the Federal Government and all its agencies*. The President of that Union had never supposed that the Government would wage war against it, as he certainly never had any design of making war upon the Government, even in self-defence.

I repeat that the situation was completely changed by the action of the Federal Executive, at the instigation of the gorged desperadoes who saw that if Debs was not crushed they would be crippled.

Debs's host was pacific ; the railroad ring grew belligerent, especially in view of the fact that it would not need to take part in the struggle, but

would probably make money out of it. Cleveland, as has already been said, had the power, as we are told, not only to use Schofield's army, but to take control of the militia of all the States, and to call for volunteers. He had a million troops at his command, and could get as many more as he desired.

As for Brother Debs, he surely could not muster and equip his legions for civil hostilities. He could not fire a shot at the American flag under which he was born, even if it were used as a covering for shame.

What then?

Mind you, I am prouder of Brother Debs than I am of any other living American; and I believe that he was the "right man in the right place" during the strike of 1894; but I fear that if I had been in Brother Debs's shoes on the Fourth of July or thereabout, I would have done what General Lee did at Appomattox, in presence of the overwhelming array of his foes.

It seems to me that, under the circumstances in which he was placed, surrender would have been honorable—not surrender to the General Managers' Association or to the horrible Pullman—but surrender to the embattled armies of the United States.

I do not say that I would have "called off" the strike, which the Unionists have a full right to

keep up, but I would not have contended with the Government.

Wait-a-while ! We shall yet run the Government.

We cannot fight Uncle Sam, who, unfortunately, at this time is disguised as Grover Cleveland, the Dictator.

It is not my purpose to criticize the policy or the conduct of Brother Debs, any more than I would criticize the campaigns of Napoleon, his strategy, tactics, or manœuvres. He was the leader of perhaps the greatest struggle ever made by labor for freedom. I believe and hope that he will be heard from long after I am dead.



CHAPTER X.

BACK TO THE STRIKE AGAIN.

TWELFTH DAY.



HIS was a bad day, as may be seen from the "scare heads" put to the day's news by the daily papers, in one of which they ran thus: "Violence in Many Places; Two Volleys into a Chicago Mob; Militia Flee from an Enraged Mob; Twenty-five Persons Injured; A Woman Killed; Federal Troops Kept on Duty; Riots in California; Government Seizes Two Railroads as Postal Lines," etc., etc.

It had become evident that the Federal Government was determined to treat the strike as an insurrection, for the suppression of which all necessary force would be brought into play. Trains had been blocked, derailed, capsized, looted, or burned on several lines; petty riots had occurred here and there, some of them doubtless instigated by the corporations in order to hasten the crisis, others provoked by the presence of the soldiery, while others were of the feverish kind which always occur whenever popular passion is inflamed. The

police of the cities and the militia of the States might easily have quelled all disturbances; but that did not serve the purpose of the Federal Executive, who was bent upon the exercise of his sovereignty as the protector of property and other things. He gave orders that the railroads should be put in charge of army officers and that commanders of military departments should assume direct control of the territory within their command. The Russian general who, once upon a time, after hideous butchery in Poland, announced that "Order reigns in Warsaw," was not clothed with much more power than that of the generals of our army—ay, in the republic of the United States of North America! It is fortunate that our generals are less bloodthirsty than was the sanguinary Suvaroff; yet, according to the dispatches from Washington, some of them were "impatient at the delay in resorting to force to uphold the dignity of the Government." Everywhere the troops were rallying. Major-General Howard, commanding the division of the Atlantic, with headquarters at New York, sent word that the 5,000 regulars in his division were ready for service anywhere at a minute's notice, and that they had been drilled daily in the use of the Gatling gun. "We will show the mob," he said to an inquirer, "that we mean business." Troops were sent to Chicago from Fort Riley, Fort Porter,

and other forts in the West and the East. The whole army was in battle array, from New York to Chicago, and thence to San Francisco, to say nothing of militia. Our regular army is not big, but it is strong for its size.

By this time, under military guard and with the aid of such filibusters as had been picked up, passenger trains began to move upon some of the roads in a limping sort of way. The general managers declared, in a trembling voice, or in a whisper, that the situation had improved for some of the companies.

As for Chicago, the day was one of serious incidents there. As the industries and the business of the city were in large part suspended, masses of people of both sexes and all ages were in the streets, and often blocked them at places. Of course, they were represented as enraged and desperate mobs, craving blood, arson, and plunder, in the name of the American Railway Union, though not belonging to it. In a thickly populated quarter, a swarm of them hovered about the tracks of the Grand Trunk line, where a company of militia, was stationed. They not only geyed the braves, but even, it was said, threw things at them. Now there was a scene. The militia were ordered to fire and charge. They did both. In a minute, twenty or thirty or more people were shot and bayoneted, upon which the crowd fled. A

lad got a bullet in his thigh ; a woman got a bullet in her ankle ; mothers carrying their babes were maimed. The militia gave chase to the fugitives, blazing away at them with their revolvers, until many had fallen and the "mob" was out of sight. The news spread ; other people, to the number of thousands, soon rushed to the bloody spot ; the militia could not cope with them ; the officer in command and his men sprang aboard a train, which instantly carried them from the scene of danger, before the excited spectators could take revenge. As soon as the news reached Major-General Miles, he ordered all the regulars at the stock-yards to march against the enemy on the double-quick. They were not needed there, though many hundreds of women mingled with the men. Peace had been restored ; the militia had departed ; their dead and wounded victims had been carried off, none of whom were members of the American Railway Union.

Was not that Union responsible for these occurrences ? Not any more than, thirty years ago, Grant's army was responsible for the deeds of all the outsiders who followed in its wake, or hovered near its flanks.

About nightfall again, or later, there were several other affrays in the city. At one of them a young woman was shot to death, and a small boy was shot and badly wounded.

The day was a bad one from morning till night. Some railroad tracks and trains were interfered with—not by the strikers. Some other property was destroyed—not by the strikers.

Major-General Miles held a conference with the managers of the railroads, drew up a plan of campaign for their defence, and gave instructions to his officers, which, as one of them explained, meant that the troops should “shoot to kill.”

Brother Debs, upon whom another injunction had been served, once more urged all Unionists to continue to refrain from violating any law. The railroad companies declared again that they would never surrender or compromise or arbitrate, or hold any peace conference. That brave and earnest and able leader of one of the wings of the labor host, General Master-Workman Sovereign, of the Knights of Labor, who had remained at Chicago all through the strike, helping to support it, now sent to President Cleveland an urgent appeal for fair play; but this appeal, like all the other appeals sent from the same side of the field, was neither heeded nor answered by the purblind functionary to whom it was addressed.

In other parts of the country, there were sensational events beyond number on the day under review. At all places in California the strike against the Southern Pacific Railroad despotism was in its supremacy. Near Tacoma, shots were

fired at a train, without effect, by marauders in ambush, and near Spokane there were incidents, as there were others at Nashville, Cheyenne, St. Louis, St. Joseph, Little Rock, Denver, Cincinnati, Pittsburg, Blue Island, Buffalo, Indianapolis, Omaha, and at a hundred places elsewhere. The strike was strong; the regulars were on the go; the Federal judges were roaring aloud on the rampage; the estimates of the losses that had been suffered by the parties in contest, and by others suffering from it, ran far up into the millions.

The strikers had stood very solid from the first. Brother Debs loomed up.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

The first proclamation by President Cleveland [see Appendix] and the first blood shed by the troops of the regular army were the chief events of the thirteenth day of the great strike. Mr. Cleveland admonished and warned; he told of his purpose to execute the laws, defend property, and protect the mails; he mentioned the "stern necessities;" he spoke of troops and mobs; and he wound up by giving notice that there would "be no hesitation or vacillation in the decisive treatment of the guilty."

True, the regular army had been carrying on military operations against the strike before this

time. True, the proclamation ought to have been issued before the army was first ordered to take the field. But these and other things may now as well be overlooked.

On the very day when the proclamation was issued, the regulars used their rifles with deadly effect at Hammond, in Indiana, twenty miles from Chicago. It had been represented that a "mob," consisting of the men, women, and children of the place, were playing the mischief, and had not only overturned a freight train, but also scorched several of Pullman's cars. It seemed necessary to the unquailing military commander at Chicago—who had been appealed to by the Managers' Association—that this "mob" should be subdued at all hazards, though probably it could easily have been dispersed by the local police. A company of infantry was hurried there; the "mob" fell back—the women, the children, and all—when the company reached the station; the "mob"—not only the boys and girls, but also their elders—went so far in their defiant deviltry, after falling back, as to laugh and cough in the presence of the Federal army; some of them went still further, and hooted. "Clear the tracks! Charge bayonets!" shouted the captain. The regulars advanced; the "mob" retreated. There was a brief pause. Then the sheriff of the county, who had nothing to do with the army, asked the "mob"

to hearken to a telegram which he had just got from the Governor of Indiana. He read the telegram, which was in favor of law and order; the "mob" listened to it in silence, but raised a yell after he got through, and then left for the prairie beyond the railroad track. By this time the "mob" was over a thousand strong, old and young, male and female. After a while, the undaunted military commander descried a "gang of drunk hoodlums" approaching the tracks, and who can tell that they had not some evil design? When this gang got within short range of the troops, "Fire!" shouted the furious officer. Five victims fell at the first volley; the regulars had been ordered to "shoot to kill." One of the dead victims was a carpenter, who had gone out to hunt up his little son, who had strayed from home; another victim, named Campbell, a peaceful citizen, was badly wounded; another victim was a young lady, a visitor to some friends in Hammond, who was out for an airing. Several other victims were infinitely better Americans than the uniformed hirelings who slew them, and who had "shot to kill." Not a "drunk hoodlum" had fallen—not a member of the American Railway Union was cut off. The regulars then grew rampant, and fell upon the town. They fired their rifles; they madly shot their bullets through the frame walls of the houses; but their marksman-

ship was so bad by this time that, in their raid, they killed only one other man and wounded another. A bullet was sent after the town plumber, but he dodged it. A newspaper reporter, who was trying to get some items, had the good fortune to see a number of soldiers take aim at his head before they fired, and thus he escaped the bullets.

The people of Hammond did not get over their excitement after the military revelry had ended, even though they had not done anything in self-defence. Groups of them soon gathered in the houses and stores, as the major in command had prohibited them from congregating in the streets. They talked of the dead and wounded; they seemed to be sullen; they were dazed.

We are not in Russia. Such things could not happen there.

While yet the town was stunned, three other companies of regulars appeared, with loaded rifles and fixed bayonets. They caught sight of a "mob" of over 100 distressed men, women and children, who had not done anything wrong, but were suspected of evil designs. They fired a volley, but, it seems, forgot to shoot to kill, or else they missed aim. With fixed bayonets they then charged this "mob." The mob fled in fright, but many of them were unable to fly far, and "threw themselves headlong on the prairie, as though



GENERAL NELSON A. MILES

careless whether or not the soldiers trampled upon them in the charge."

The scene cannot be described.

I must ask the Czar Alexander III to pass over this chapter of this book; for, though he is not wholly given up to sentimentalism, the reading of it would make him feel faint, or drive him into a rage.

I may tell other readers, however, that every item in the chapter has been gathered out of the dispatches from Hammond that were printed in the Chicago and New York papers.

I trust that the "King of the Cannibal Islands" does not read our papers. As for Sitting Bull, I believe that he is dead, if not in Heaven.

Two of the leading residents of Hammond, acting as representatives of their fellow-citizens, sent a dispatch to the governor of their State, asking his protection, and saying: "Federal troops shooting people promiscuously without provocation. Act quickly." This contemptible governor returned an answer, telling of his regret that inoffensive citizens should suffer, and adding a few cheap commonplaces.

I do not know whether Governor Matthews, of Indiana, is a Democrat or a Republican, and I cannot take the time to look up his name in the almanac; but, whatever be his politics, he is a disgrace to the great State of which my brave old friend, Oliver P. Morton, was once the worthy governor.

Warrants were sworn out for the arrest of some of the regulars who had ravaged Hammond, but the town constable was afraid to serve them. What good could come to the dead, the wounded, or the bereaved, to the town or its people, from the service of the warrants? A few of the citizens got guns to use in self-defence; but if a shot had been fired by one of them, the town of Hammond would probably have been "wiped out." Before the news about these guns had reached Chicago, three more companies of regulars were on the way to Hammond.

The day of the storm in Hammond was Sunday, the 8th of July, 1894, and I should think it would be a memorable Sunday in the history of the town.

It was the Sunday of President Cleveland's superserviceable proclamation.

What if it were true that on the previous Saturday night a "mob of hoodlums from Chicago" had held up a freight train, and spiked switches and upset cars at or near Hammond? Is the commission of such deeds by such a "gang" to be regarded as justifying the savagery of the regular army on Sunday?

There was plenty of news from other places than Hammond on the thirteenth day of the strike. There was a report of the gathering of a "mob" in Chicago, which must be looked after by the army;

but, as it was largely composed of poor women and children, the troops withheld their fire, and merely used the butt ends of their rifles to disperse the mob, which was very easily dispersed. In the afternoon, another squad of hoodlums there threw a switch, but the hoodlums were out of sight by the time a company of infantry could get after them. About the hour of sundown some unknown "firebugs" struck a match in order to burn two empty freight cars, which were soon burned, to the dismay of the corporation which owned them. The firebugs escaped, and it may have been that they were what the French call "provocative agents," about whose business methods a fellow named Pinkerton can tell as much as any decent patriot ought to know. The army was still engaged in guarding all the railroad lines, and tracks and cars, and in warding off all mobs. According to the day's bulletin of the General Managers' Association, some of the roads were yet wholly tied up, while a few trains were moving over others. According to a dispatch of Mr. Debs, the American Railway Union was still as strong as ever, and the prospects of the strike were good.

There were fears of a strike at Toledo. There were signs of trouble at numerous points not yet affected. At many places subpoenas for the arrest of strikers, on the charge of striking, not of vio-

lence of any kind, were issued and executed. Major-General Howard gave his views, which accorded with those of Major-General Schofield, in favor of the establishment of a large standing army.

Taken all in all, the thirteenth day of the strike was one of its most notable days.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

It became evident on the fourteenth day of the strike that the hostile course of the Federal executive, and the use that was made of the army, the courts, and other repressive agencies, as well as the operation of the militia of many States, had begun to tell upon it. The ranks of the American Railway Union were yet firm and its spirit was unbroken, but how could it hold its ground against the forces which had been turned loose upon it? President Cleveland issued another proclamation of warning and menace, but more especially applicable to the States of Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Washington, Colorado, California, and North Dakota, and the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. [See Appendix.] He gave warning that the assemblages and combinations of persons who had obstructed the railroads running through these regions must cease their operations by three o'clock of that day, and that the Federal army would be used in keeping the roads open for

the Government service. Again, in this case, Cleveland talked after the fact. As he had issued his first proclamation a week after the regular troops had been used against the strike, so he issued his second at least a week after the army had done railroad service in all the States and Territories of which he spoke.

Again, for the sixth or eighth time, certain well-disposed persons, including sundry local functionaries, sought to bring about arbitration between the parties in dispute. The Associated Managers again alleged that they had "nothing to arbitrate," and Boss Pullman, who had withstood all suggestions of the kind during the strike and before it, was still as obstinate and obstreperous as ever. Mr. Debs had sought to get Pullman to make a settlement by arbitration with his helpless workmen before ever the American Railway Union took up their case, and during every day of the sympathetic strike he was anxious for arbitration. The true democratic spirit had belonged to the American Railway Union. The implacable malignity of a self-conceited oligarchy had ruled the councils of the General Managers' Association in alliance with Pullman and Cleveland.

During this second week of the strike a good many thousands of the workingmen of Chicago, and not a few of other places, had voluntarily struck work as a means of indicating their full ac-

cord with the men in the breach, but that powerful local body—the Chicago Trades Assembly—had not thought it advisable to call a general strike at the time, any more than the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor had yet thought fit to do so. The five old Brotherhoods of railroaders had, in their corporate capacity, stood aloof from the strike. The American Federation of Labor had not taken any action upon it. The members of the brave young American Railway Union had borne the brunt of the battle from the beginning, though there were mountains of evidence that the hearts of millions of their fellow-workers all over the country had gone out toward them.

At this time the General Managers' Association began to boast that the gigantic strike was giving way before the batteries of the Federal Government, directed by their ally, Grover Cleveland. There was news that, upon a number of lines, passenger traffic had been partially resumed, and that only in California was the blockade yet complete. Boasts were made by the Managers that the regular army and the Federal courts had at last got their grip upon the strike, upon the American Railway Union, and upon organized labor. They were willing to take back the strikers who would accept their terms, some of whom were in straits for life. As for Brother

Debs, the President of the Union, the Field-Marshal of the strike, he still stood where he had stood at the first, unflinching and hopeful.

The enemy had to get rid of Debs somehow.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

In the fifteenth day of the strike Brother Debs was arrested, upon indictment by a Federal Grand Jury, after United States Judge Grosscup had delivered that ugly charge, [See Appendix], which, as the lawyers say, constitutes a new departure in the adjudication of cases of the kind.

Twenty or more of the trade and labor unions of Chicago resolved to strike, and perhaps as many as 20,000 of their members struck at once, besides those Knights of Labor who acted upon the appeal made by General Master Workman Sovereign. Even the newsboys of Chicago, 1,000 of them, sustained the Union cause by putting a boycott upon such of the daily papers of the city as had taken the enemy's side. President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, called a conference of the officers of that body in Chicago to consider the situation.

There was shooting by the regulars at Spring Valley, near Chicago, during which one man in a "mob" there, from which stones had been thrown at a train, we are told, was killed, and several others were wounded—not a railroader among

them. There were regulars on the march in California, where the strike was yet in the ascendant, and where it was supported by the leading daily papers, and where the militia were on the side of the strikers. There were unnumbered "sympathy meetings" in the cities of the Eastern States, but no "sympathetic strikes" in any of them, mainly because the workingmen there had been such heavy sufferers during the unprecedentedly hard times, which had lasted for over a year. There were "meat trains" sent out of Chicago under military escort. There were some new railroaders hired by the companies and guarded by troops. There were lots of incidents at many places, few of which were momentous. There was again much talk of arbitration, but not by the enemy.

A full chapter of this book ought to have been given to the strike in California, where labor made a marvellous display of its power. The features of the strike there were of exceptional interest. It was so completely effective from the time of its declaration onward that even mail communication could not be carried on. It was favored by nearly the entire population of the State, and was sustained by a powerful press. The State militia could not be used for its suppression, and gave practical and unmistakable evidence of sympathy with it. Until the Federal

army, under Cleveland, carried the day on the Eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, the Golden State stood for the strike in a way which should never be forgotten, and which gave it an especial title to honor and fame. I must hope that we shall yet have a full and worthy history of the great strike in California.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

The railroad managers were crowing that the army was atop, alongside the Federal judiciary, and that the American Railway Union had been paralyzed. The monopoly papers raved in their ecstasy, and so did a swarm of the preachers who worship the Apocalyptic Beast, and so did all the plundering rings. It was a devil's feast for them. Even in California, wheels had begun to move over the rails of the Southern Pacific. Yet the blockade was still effective over a large extent of country.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

Brother Debs and his fellow-officers signed a proposition which was presented to the Associated Managers through the Mayor of Chicago, that, for reasons, given, hostilities would be ended upon condition that the Unionists be restored to their places, excepting such of them as might hereafter be convicted of illegal conduct. Though this proposition was rejected contumeliously, Brother

Debs was not discomfited, but suggested other measures by which the strike might yet be won.

This day, the American Federation of Labor, after full conference over the situation, declared that, "while the heart of labor everywhere throbs responsive to the manly purposes and sturdy struggle of the American Railway Union, in its heroic endeavor to redress the wrongs of the Pullman employés," and "while all working people must unite to secure their own industrial advancement," yet, in view of the power of corporate capital recently displayed, any general strike of labor, under existing circumstances, would be inexpedient. After giving this judgment, the Federation arraigned the brutal money power which overrides labor, and urged labor to strike to win its rights through political action at the ballot-box, where alone they can be won, and where alone the "plutocratic wreckers" are vulnerable.

I am aware that the officers of the American Federation have been severely condemned for taking this course, and that President Gompers especially has been charged with favoring a policy of pusillanimity in a time of trial; but perhaps the accusers in this case may not have been fully cognizant of all the facts of it, and may have neglected to give due weight to the old proverb, that sometimes "discretion is the better part of valor." As

to the political advice given by the Federation's officers, wiser could not have been offered.

UP TO THE TWENTIETH DAY.

The strike has never yet been declared off, and many of the Unionists have held their ground. But, by the 17th of July, all the companies were doing business, after a fashion, under military protection. It was on the 17th of this month that the undaunted Brother Debs and three of the other chief officers of the American Railway Union were imprisoned for "contempt of court," in continuing to uphold the strike after the issuance of Judge Grosscup's "Gatling" injunction.

Next day, the Federal Government, believing that the strike had been crushed through its agency, gave orders for the withdrawal from Chicago of the regular troops, who certainly, during the pendency of the strike, had not at any time "covered themselves with glory."

The wrong that President Cleveland had done in sending them there can never be obliterated, and the disgrace that was brought upon the country by their conduct at Hammond and elsewhere, under the command of their officers, can never be forgotten. Every member of Cleveland's Cabinet must bear his share of the responsibility. Both Houses of Congress, which mumbled their approval of his course, have their

share of it. Both of the regnant political parties are guilty.

Honor to those Populist Senators and Representatives who entered a protest for the right. Honor to those few journals which defended the cause of right and labor, and especial honor to the most brilliant and powerful of them all, the *Chicago Times*.

The echoes of the "sympathetic strike" of 1894 have not been, and never will be, stilled. This strike was the very grandest embodiment of the supreme principle of Fraternity, which must prevail in our country, if it is to be saved from the domination of such imperial monsters as once ruled in Rome.

Two days after Brother Debs had been imprisoned, forty-three more of his fellow-unionists who had aided the strike in ways peaceful, were indicted by the Federal Grand Jury, arrested, imprisoned, and every man of them held for bail in the sum of \$10,000! At this the organs of capitalism raised another yell of triumph, which was followed by the demand that all the Unionist strikers who could be laid hold of, under any pretext, even though they had merely quit work upon their own motion, should be subjected to "exemplary punishment;" and we ought all to know what that phrase means when there is a poor man in the case.

Thus it is—thus surely it must be—that the plutocracy are hastening the day of popular deliverance. When injustice becomes intolerable and oppression becomes unbearable, we must believe that the time to grapple with them is approaching.

At the date of the writing of these lines in the month of July, the doom of Brother Debs and the other striking Unionists has not been pronounced. The readers of this book will doubtless know the facts before it falls into their hands. Brethren! let me repeat here once again the advice of the Apostle Paul: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them!"



CHAPTER XI.

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS—THE AMERICAN RAILWAY
UNION.

IF Eugene Victor Debs must always stand in the fore-front of the great midsummer strike of 1894, it is because the American Railway Union put him there, as its President. If that Union has won laurels which cannot wither and will hereafter serve as an inspiration to great deeds, the reasons are that it waged as noble a battle as man can wage ; that it was animated by the highest of motives, as it struck for the rights of others who were helpless ; that it gave a prime exemplification of the practical fraternity of labor ; that the vast array of its members stood steady and united from first to last ; that it bore suffering with patience, for the sake of sufferers beyond its ranks ; that it confronted enemies as formidable as remorseless, and that, even when the batteries of the Federal Government were turned against it by a malevolent Executive, its demeanor was worthy of the cause which it had served and will yet surely serve.

I honor Brother Debs.

I extol the Union of which he is president.
I celebrate the strike. It is a sign of life.
I await the strike triumphant !

I have never seen Brother Debs. I know of him only through his works and words.

From the recently printed sketches of him, I learn that he is a native of Indiana, is in the prime of life, is the husband of a high-minded wife, is always in tip-top health, is tall, spare, shapely, straight, and strong-featured, is full-shaven and disposed to baldness, is of lively spirit, pleasing habit, and ready address, has a "level head," and is "not afraid of the devil."

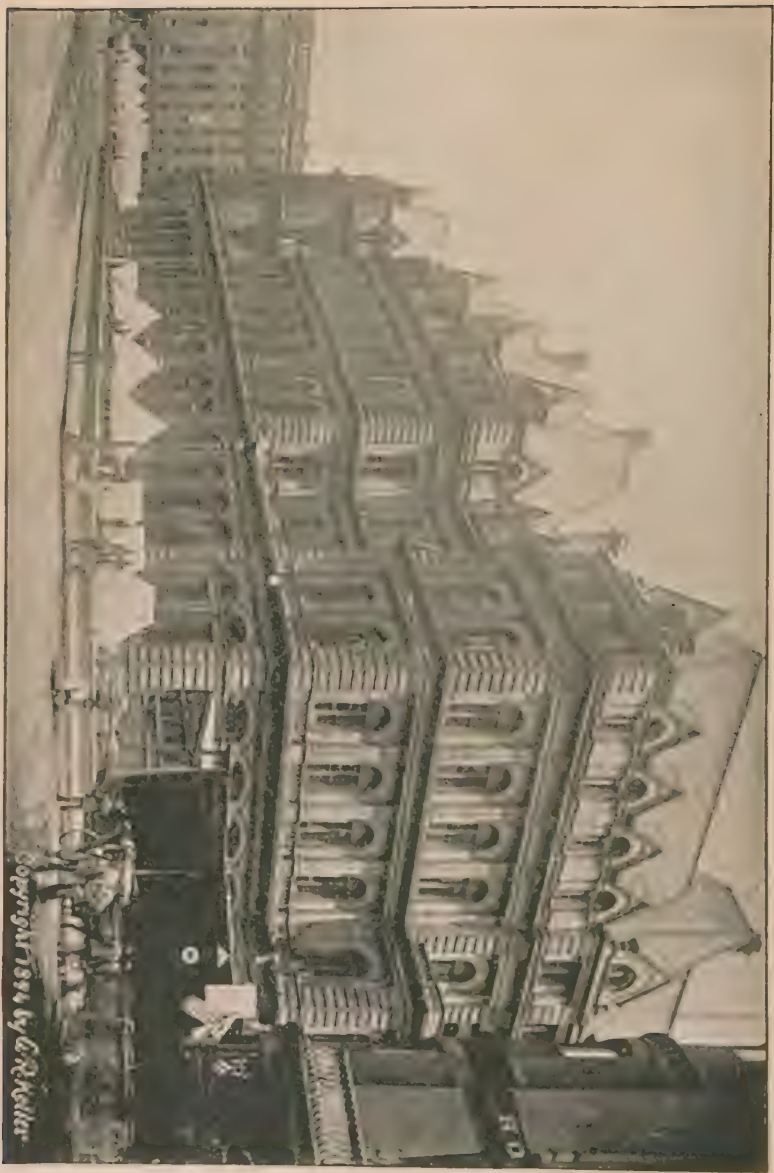
We all like to be told of the personal appearance, ways and traits of any one in whom we may be interested, but have never seen, and it seems to me that those of Brother Debs are such as to create a favorable impression. We are apt to form an opinion of any one by his looks, though wrong opinions are often thus formed.

I got a new idea of Charles Dickens when I first dined in his company, and of Victor Hugo when I first shook hands with him, and of Gladstone when I first saw him, and of Abraham Lincoln when I first entered his presence, and of Kosuth when I first met him, and of Marx when he first welcomed me, and of Horace Greeley when I first made his acquaintance ; but I do not believe

I would get any new idea of Brother Debs if we should ever face each other.

I look now at a rough newspaper picture of Brother Debs. He has a fine head, clear-cut features, and an expressive countenance. There is light in the eye, energy in the nose, resolution in the mouth, and inflexibility in the chin. He looks like a spirited, well-endowed, well-qualified, well-disposed man, one who suggests that oft-repeated phrase of Thomas Carlyle: "The man who *can*,"—a very useful kind of man always, a kind especially needed on the side of floundering labor in these times. In the rough picture before me, Brother Debs looks like a man of judgment, courage, and command, and such an one he has shown that he is. I feel sure he would have left a good record if he had been in the place of Leonidas at Thermopylæ, or of Tell at Altorf, or of Warren at Bunker Hill, or of Garibaldi at Marsala, or of Jackson at New Orleans.

I am not afraid thus to praise EUGENE VICTOR DEBS, though he is a new figure in the gallery of my statuary. I praise him, though he be a victim of Grosscup's ruthless law; though he has been assailed by Cleveland and Olney, Pullman and Egan, Schofield and Miles, by the rapacious corporations, the dastardly plutocracy, the Sodomite preachers, the Satanic press, and our bribe-taking Congressmen. I praise him, though he is in prison.



CAMP OF KNIGHTS IN FRONT OF POST-OFFICE, CHICAGO, ILL.

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We must stand by our champions all the more because of the enemies by whom they are assailed ; all the more because every man who takes a bold stand for labor is sure to be pursued with diabolical malice, to be showered with lies, to be charged with base motives, and to be reviled as long as he lives ; all the more because labor is too often untrue to itself or false to its defenders ; all the more because these defenders are weakened by the skulking of men who ought to be in the ranks, and are liable to be stabbed in the back by traitors who lurk in the rear.

Let us not stint our praise of those brave men who come to the front from time to time in labor's cause and expose themselves to attacks under which not a few have fallen.

I urge those men who are called "labor leaders" to be faithful and generous toward each other, and to strive rather for the general success than for precedence. Many of the battles of labor have been lost through the jealousies and the selfish rivalry of leaders who ought to have stood shoulder to shoulder. Many a fair prospect for labor has thus been blighted.

In his boyhood, Brother Debs went to the public school in Terre Haute, where he was liked by all his mates ; and afterwards he attended a business college for a while. When fifteen years old, he set to work. Like many other American boys,

he seems to have tried a good many things. He was in the paint shops of a railroad ; he was in a grocery store ; he served as fireman in a locomotive cab ; he was town clerk ; he seems to have had some local experience in politics. By this time he was a young man, a railroader, and belonged to that lodge of the Locomotive Firemen's Brotherhood which had been organized at Terre Haute, and of which he was secretary for many years. He was as popular in the lodge and the Brotherhood as he had been at school ; and in whatever he undertook, he gave evidence of the possession of those qualities which constitute what is often called an "executive mind." He had always been a great reader, fond of books of history, science, romance ; a particular admirer of the works of Victor Hugo, including "*Les Miserables*" ; a skimmer of magazines ; a news-hunter. He was as good a locomotive fireman as any member of his lodge ; he had aspirations which some of his fellow-members did not care for. He was a very serious, earnest, friendly, industrious, independent kind of Hoosier. He had in him the strong stuff of Western manhood, which has always seemed to me freer and livelier, as well as stronger, than that of Eastern humanity. He got married when under thirty. "He is the best of husbands," says his wife. "He is the best of brothers," says his sister. "He is the

best of sons," say his father and mother. "He is the best of citizens," say his friends at Terre Haute. "He is the best of secretaries," say the members of his lodge. "He is the best of organizers," is the vote of the powerful Union which chose him for its president. He is a remarkable speech-maker when labor is his theme, which it always is. He has shown signal ability as editor of the *Locomotive Fireman's Magazine* and of the *Railway Times*.

Thus things went along with Brother Debs, until about three years ago, when he conceived the idea of founding the new American Railway Union. There were then in existence five old organizations of railroaders—the engineers, the conductors, the switchmen, the firemen, and the trainmen, besides the shop employés. These separate bodies had failed to act harmoniously; one of them had often been "played off" against another; they had hardly ever been able to co-operate in negotiations with the companies when any object was to be gained, or any grievance redressed, or any strike declared, or any reduction of wages resisted; the interests of any one of them might not seem to concern the rest, and the wrongs of one might not be suffered by another. Many evils had to be endured on account of this state of things, though, as a matter of course, it was very acceptable to the employing companies,

which could deal more easily with the separate bodies than it could have dealt with a federation of them, acting in harmony. There need be no doubt that the officers of some of the bodies were desirous of conjoining the whole of them, or that the Federal idea was favored by a large proportion of the membership of all of them ; but, nevertheless, the obstacles in the way of union were always there. It certainly is not for me to indulge in any criticism here, as I have not the means of obtaining such knowledge as would enable me to form an intelligent judgment in the case.

I may say, however, that the larger and solider any labor organization is, the better is its prospect of success when, for example, it has dealings with such a huge and powerful embodiment of railroad companies as that which bears the title of the "General Managers' Association." That association could not, even with the aid of the Federal Government, have done what it did in July of 1894, if the great strike of which Brother Debs was the leader had been backed up by the officers and the 90,000 members of the separate bodies presided over by Messrs. Arthur, Sargent, Sheahan, Limcroft, and Daniels.

Brother Debs brooded long over his project for a Railway Union embracing all branches of the service. The Union took shape some time in 1893 ; it was quietly planted, without musical ac-

companionment, in soil which had been prepared for it; it grew like those trees of the Oriental magicians which can be seen growing as you look at them. After a short while branches of it appeared (but not to outsiders) in hundreds of places; they could be counted (by those who had the right to count them) upon the Northern lakes, along the Mississippi, where roll the Missouri and Yellowstone, in and over the mountains, westward far as flies the American flag. No other Union had ever grown as grew this Union. The growth was healthy, too. Many thousands of the members of the older bodies dropped away from them and joined it. Other men, not eligible to membership in these bodies, joined it. All railroaders in every kind of service were welcome to its ranks, and hosts of them accepted the welcome. In a few months the names on the Union's records approached 100,000; not long afterward they surpassed that number.

It had become evident that the new Union was needed, and that multitudes had awaited its formation, and that its organizers were competent for their work, and were trusted. President Debs and Vice-President Howard traveled far and farther, made speeches, stirred up their hearers, carried on the business of organization, and kept the main office at Chicago busy with their daily reports to it. They were aggressive, energetic and

in earnest. The constitution of the Union was liberal; its principles were broad; its object was the protection of the rights of members through the courts, through legislation, through the ballot-box, and through united action. Its leaders desired a practical alliance for mutual defence and the common welfare between all labor bodies and agricultural bodies, with a number of whom a conference was held at St. Louis in June of 1894.

The first defensive movement of the young American Railway Union was made within the first year of its existence, and was successful. The Great Northern Company had made a cut of ten per cent. in wages. When the Union asked for a restoration of the former rates, the toplofty company would not grant it. The Union asked for arbitration, which was refused. As a last resort, the Union authorized a strike, which began near the middle of April (1894), lasted for about a fortnight, involved 5,000 employés on 3,700 miles of lines, suspended traffic, both passenger and freight, and paralyzed business over a wide region. Both parties were unyielding. While the blockade was yet close, and there was no prospect of raising it, a conference of the business men of St. Paul and Minneapolis offered to adjudicate the dispute, with the assent of all concerned. The adjudication was in favor of the

Union ; nearly everything claimed by it was conceded ; wages were restored to the figures at which they stood before the cut, and the Company resumed operations with its old hands.

The American Railway Union had won its first victory. President Debs had gained a name for courage and discretion ; many thousands of new members were added to the Union, the fame of which spread wherever a wheel ran over a rail. The railroaders everywhere who had suffered under the reductions and exactions of the previous year began to indulge in a new hope.

No neater or more satisfactory job for the benefit of any class of workingmen had ever been done than that of President Debs. It was the more cheering because of the many rebuffs to all classes of workers by which it had been preceded.

Two months afterward came the vastly greater strike of the new Union, to wit : the strike, which has been partially described in previous chapters of this volume.

The prime conception of the Union gave proof of the breadth of Brother Debs's thought ; the planning and organizing of it involved rare practical skill ; the building up of it revealed a man of extraordinary energy ; the high principles upon which it was founded betokened a spirit higher yet ; the first action in which it was engaged gave

evidence that an accomplished commander had taken the field; the "sympathetic strike," for the success of which it struggled with courage and patience, was a thing of unsurpassable generosity and merit; the leadership of the Union from its creation onward had been so masterly that no power less than that of the Government was of any avail against it.

I speak of Brother Debs not by himself alone, but rather as the embodiment and exponent of the genius of the Union of which he is President. The spirit of the Union is in him, as his spirit is in the Union.

Brother Debs had an able and faithful assistant in Vice-President Howard, (now also in prison along with many of his brethren.) He was sustained to the last by the branches everywhere, and by the whole body of the membership, which may have far exceeded 100,000, the strongest Union in the United States. He must have felt that millions of workingmen—not to speak of many other thoughtful people—applauded his course and gloried in his pluck.

The American Railway Union is not to be crushed under the iron heel. Neither Cleveland nor the ruling oligarchy, neither the army nor the courts can destroy it. I have not a doubt that it will hereafter manifest its power. I believe that the three quarters of a million of railroad em-

ployes in the United States will be compelled to combine, as the companies combined during the strike of 1894. The existing Brotherhoods and Orders can enjoy all desirable freedom in a general union. Such a union would be invincible. It could put an end to the strikes, boycotts, and other devices that must yet, in self-defence, be resorted to under penalty of despair. It could form an alliance with other labor unions and with the embattled farmers. It could balk the ruinous schemes devised and enforced by merciless capitalists, through which the country has been brought into a state of distress from which there can be no relief so long as they are tolerated.

Salutation to Brother Debs and his companions under arrest! Welcome the day of freedom for him and them! Hasten the hour when he and they can resume their work for the emancipation of labor!

And let it not be forgotten that we hold in our hands the means by which that day may be hastened. We are able to forge the key that will unlock their prison, even though the elephantine Cleveland be on guard.

Away with the old political wreckers!

CHAPTER XII.

AFTERMATH OF THE GREAT STRIKE.



THE practical suspension of the anti-Pullman strike took place during the third week of July, the several roads resuming business one day or another, as best they might, with such men as were to be got. The President and other officers of the American Railway Union were in prison, awaiting trial; the Government had tied the Union's hands; the Courts had issued anomalous and devastating injunctions, never before paralleled; the companies were able to use the regular army at will, and the whole enginery of iron-clad capitalism had been brought to bear upon the strikers.

The officers of the Union had not stopped, any more than they had started, the strike; but, under the circumstances, it could not be made effective. The members had the liberty, all the time, to take any step that seemed to them expedient. The Union was alive and solid and strong, but its machinery had been disabled by an irresistible force. Its President was not empowered to surrender, even after its designs had been thwarted. What next? The men began to return to the service

they had left, in order to gain an object which, after the enemy had obtained the protection of the American flag, could not at once be gained. Scores of branches of the Union, here and there, resolved to take the same course, for the same reason, often against the remonstrance of unyielding members. The Southern Pacific was opened for traffic, and so was the Northern Pacific, and so were other roads. The companies had been too greatly scared to indulge in any crowing ; they had learned that, in themselves, they were helpless against the American Railway Union ; they knew that the Union would have won if the trial of strength had been fairly made. There had formerly been threats of "blacklisting" and of "smashing the Union" on the part of several of the companies, but the attempt to execute them was discreetly abandoned in nearly every case as soon as the trains began to move. There was a truce. The Federal Courts, however, had yet their parts to play against the scores of imprisoned Unionists.

At this time (July 22d), President Debs and his fellow-officers sent out a public letter from "Headquarters American Railway Union, Cook County Jail." It expressed full faith in the "victory of the right." It asked every good man and woman, every friend of fair play, labor, humanity, or justice, to keep up the boycott against the cars of the

Pullman Company. "We have faith in the American people. We will use every available and lawful means to press the contest. There will be no surrender. Dungeons do not daunt us."

Up to the last, as at the first, President Debs had stood for "law and order," even though the Government and its tools violated both. In an address to the members of the Union, just after the strike was declared, he had said: "I appeal to the striking men everywhere to refrain from any act of violence. Let there be no interference with the affairs of the several companies involved, and above all let there be no act of depredation. A man who will destroy property or violate law is an enemy, not a friend, to the cause of labor." In another address, issued a week afterward, he spoke again in the most pacific, prudent, and conciliatory terms, even while possessed of the most unflinching purpose. In this address, also, there is a passage upon a subject repeatedly referred to in previous chapters, which I cannot refrain from quoting. Here it is:

"It has been asked, what sense is there in sympathetic strikes? Let the corporations answer. When one of them is assailed all go to the rescue. They stand together; they supply each other with men, money, and equipments. Labor, in unifying its forces, simply follows their example. If the proceeding is vicious and inde-

fensible, let them first abolish it. In this contest labor stands by labor."

While Brother Debs and companions were in prison, such aid as labor could give in their defence was freely offered from all quarters. I cannot speak here of the numerous manifestations of the time, or even of the valorous conduct of General Master Workman Sovereign ; but one manifestation had a special and exceptional significance which must not be overlooked. It was that of the American Federation of Labor (July 22d), a body which includes those railroad Brotherhoods that had stood aloof from Brother Debs, or even antagonized him, all through the great struggle. In behalf of the executive council of the Federation, the sum of \$500 was subscribed for the defence of the accused, and an appeal for further aid was sent out by President Gompers, from which appeal the ensuing quotations must be made :

THE DEBS LEGAL DEFENCE FUND.

"Eugene V. Debs stands as one of the most conspicuous and interesting figures before the country. None doubts his honesty and fidelity to the cause of the wronged against the wrong-doer. Yet he is in jail, awaiting the action of the United States courts, upon the charge of contempt of their drag-net injunctions. He is required to ap-

pear before four different courts, located hundreds of miles from each other, at one and the same time. He is under indictment for 'conspiracy' in obeying the instructions of his organization by requesting railroad employes to quit work to aid their struggling fellow-workmen.

"Law is being strained and distorted, corporate power is exerting its every effort to incarcerate this earnest and sincere lover of humanity, Eugene V. Debs. The corporations have their claws ready to fasten upon his body, not simply to try to crush him, but in hope of awing labor into silence and slavish submission.

"The corporations have their creature, Attorney-General Olney, and other skilled attorneys, to prosecute Debs. He must, therefore, be defended by counsel equally capable, but whose hearts as well as brains throb for the right. In his person, at this time, he represents the lawful right of labor to organize, to quit work in defence, protection, and advancement of its interests.

"Eugene V. Debs is a poor man. His trial and the preparation for it require a considerable amount of money, and we know that the workers of the country have never yet been appealed to in vain to help the cause of justice, humanity, and right."

The newspaper readers of the country will be aware of the response made to President Gom-

pers's manly appeal ere this book can be printed.

LOSSES AND LESSONS.

There have been plenty of estimates of the losses that were incurred on account of the great strike during the weeks of its existence—incurred by the Federal Treasury, by the States, by the associated companies, by the Unionists, by men other than the original strikers who voluntarily quit work on its account, and by the business and farming people of the country. The cost was probably double or triple the amount that the plant and the establishment of Boss Pullman would now sell for in the market. We have had tables of figures of it, partly trustworthy, partly guess-work, running from ten million dollars to twice ten. By the end of the year, or later, we may know whether the Federal Treasury lost as high as \$2,000,000 in suppressing the strike; whether the treasuries of twenty or more States lost as much in “keeping the peace;” whether the losses of the associated companies ran toward or beyond \$7,000,000; whether the losses of the unselfish strikers and other affected wage-workers were as great as those of the General and State Governments put together; whether the expenditures of the municipal authorities were not, in a good many cases, measurably bigger than usual, and whether the losses to the trade of the country

were not vastly heavier than Secretary Carlisle had supposed they could be.

The responsibility for all this loss, and for more, too, must be borne by that swelling Money Power which bestrides our republic, and which viciously refused to arbitrate the easily-settled question which labor desired to submit to arbitration. It must be borne by Clevelandism, Pullmanism, and Monopoly.

Perhaps about thirty persons, including several women, were killed and thrice as many wounded by the weapons of capitalism in the suppression of the lawful strike. The damage to life or limb on the other side was inconsiderable. I do not know that a regular soldier or militia-man fell in conflict, though two or three regulars were otherwise unfortunate in California.

The deviltry and the savagery of the Money Power during the strike brought dishonor upon our country, and upon the President who assumed dictatorial authority to crush labor. If that Money Power be not soon bound and delivered over to the people for judgment, it will surely bind the people, until its lusts are gluttoned at their expense.

Toilers ! unite, while yet there is opportunity.

JULY 23.—Upon the day of the writing of this chapter of the book now in the reader's hands, the daily papers printed the answer of the counsel for



JOHN M. EAGAN
Chairman General Manager's Strike Committee

the American Railway Union to the charge of contempt of court brought against its officers; and, while perusing this answer, I was led to suspect that I have not in the proper place given sufficient prominence to the fact that the strike was not declared by order of the President of the Union, or its Board of Directors, who had not the power, under the Union's constitution, to declare it, but that it was a voluntary act of the members of the Union, who, after voting upon the question in their respective branches, quit work of their own accord. I should have emphasized this all-important fact, over and again, in those chapters that deal with the strike, but, while composing that part of this book, I failed to give due heed to the assumptions contained in Grosscup's injunction. The reader must constantly bear in mind that the strike was not, and could not be either "ordered" or "called off" by President Debs, and that the sole authority for it was the vote of the members of the several branches of the Union. That Union is neither an autocracy nor an oligarchy, but a pure democracy.

CHAPTER XIII.

CAPITALISM AND ITS VICTIMS.



ALL through the time of trouble we heard the snuffling of Pullman, the labor-skinning millionaire. He snuffled about the necessity of cutting the pay of the thousands of people in his service and keeping them under conditions of existence which human nature could barely tolerate. He snuffled about his losses while piling up his millions. He snuffled about the unprofitable contracts of his company while he and the other stockholders in it were drawing big fat dividends every quarter. He snuffled while living like a prince, snuffled before his victimized workmen, snuffled in his palatial mansion at Chicago and in his Eastern chateau, snuffled through the newspapers, and snuffled on top of his money-bags. He was even ready to let a blind-folded committee handle his inscrutable ledgers while he was snuffling.

It was the hypocritical old snuffle of men of his kind when brought up standing.

The nabobs all fall into the same strain when you speak of the remuneration of labor. Carnegie, the multi-millionaire, must cut the wages

of his "hands;" Havemeyer, the sugar king, must cut them; Rockefeller, the oil king, must cut them; Huntington, the railroad wrecker, must, even as Jay Gould did over and again; Armour must; the Vanderbilts, ditto;—all alike, whenever there is a chance. The same cry is raised every now and then by the lords of the Pennsylvania coal and iron mines, by the factory grandees of the New England and other States, by the railroad companies, by corporations of every kind, and by large employers in all lines of gain. "Make a cut if you can," is the order. "Put on the screws." "Shave them down; they are getting too much." "Our underlings are lazy; they drink too hard; they are good for nothing; we can import ship-loads of them." "As for the female 'hands,' they ought to be glad to get anything." Thus speak the money-gods from year's end to year's end, all over the land. They are insatiable; they devour their own subjects.

One gets tired of the vagaries and sophistries of the scribbling tools of capitalism in regard to the pay and the rights of working people, when they drool over the wage-question, the "wage-fund," the profits of capital, the figures of something, and the bogus laws of what Thomas Carlyle called "the dismal science." They will argue that everything is as it must be, that nothing

can be other than it is, that the devil ought to seize the hindmost, and that the bamboozlement of labor by capital is the only way of running the country. They will talk louder than you can, unless you have a stentorian voice; they will outrun you every time, unless you are very long-winded.

Let us turn from these mountebanks and their perverse "laws," their crooked statistics, their chicanery, and their lies. Let us take a look at *things*, real, live things.

I first thought of "wage-laws" years ago, at a time when there was a big strike of cotton-mill operatives of both sexes in the Massachusetts city of Fall River, which has, or then had, more spindles than any other city in the United States. There were I forget how many thousands of the workingmen and women of the place on strike against "starvation wages," and, as was set forth in a printed circular, "against wrong and oppression beyond endurance." I went to the place, at the request of a committee. When I got there the mills were closed, and I beheld a spectacle too harrowing for description. There were in the streets crowds of wan-faced, haggard, distressed, poorly-clad operatives, men, women, and children. One did not need to be told of the condition to which these slaves of the mills had been reduced. One could see how they lived by looking at or into their rookeries. One could learn how they

had spun for long hours, under severe superintendents. One could not escape the wailing of despond. One could hear from the lips of man, woman, and child such tales as might wring the souls of people not over-sentimental. In awhile I listened to words from the other side by the mill-owners, which were to the usual effect, that business was dull, prices were low, and the cut was necessary. I saw, however, that even then these mill-owners lived in luxury, owned mansions and domains, gave every evidence of possessing great wealth, and belonged to corporations which paid heavy dividends. They refused to give heed to the complaints of their employés, told them they could leave Fall River if they did not like their wages, and warned them that plenty of other operatives could be got to take their places. Here was a small but rich, strong, and defiant class on one side ; here were ten thousand or more impoverished workers on the other side. There did not seem to be need of any extended argument in the case. It looked as though there was something wrong, that the operatives were the sufferers from it, and that the industry must be conducted in a sinister way, under false principles. The work-people could not go anywhere else, because they were too poor ; they could not work at anything else, because they knew no other than cotton factory work. What were they to do ? The

bolder of them could suggest nothing beyond a strike of despair against indigence and oppression. Hence the big strike, by which at last they gained the price of a few more loaves and fishes per week.

I know what is the defence of the money-bags in such cases. It is that of the pirate.

Since that time I have seen many other examples of like kind. I have seen the indescribably wretched coal miners of Pennsylvania when at work, and during a strike, and after the end of it; and I have seen, also, the palaces and estates of the millionaires who owned the mines, through robbery of the miners. I have seen the despoiled workers of the Carnegie-Frick Steel Company, at Homestead; and everybody knows of the huge fortune of Carnegie. I have heard the story of the dry-sucked employés of Boss Pullman, though I cannot say for sure that he has "made" all of \$25,000,000 out of them, or that, even in this year of his losses, he has drawn an annual dividend of eight per cent. on his stuffed stock. I have seen twice ten thousand of the miserables who work at the clothing trades in New York, and have seen some scores of the swollen embezzlers who prey upon them. I have seen the weather-worn freight handlers of Jersey City, at work and on the strike. I have seen a few millionaires at Chicago, and half a million of their strained hire-

lings. I know of the paltry wages which a dozen corporations pay, and of the huge incomes which they pocket.

I could go on drawing these contrasts for many pages ; but everybody can draw them for himself as he looks around.

The small rich class is towering higher every year ; millions upon millions of workers are falling lower all the time. I ask the reader to recall the observations upon this subject that are made in the second chapter.

There is not any sense in saying that this is a good state of things, or that it cannot be bettered, or that capital must be protected, or that labor must keep quiet, or that agitators must shut up, or that capitalists have a right to all they can "make," or that workers must be content with what they can get. It is not justifiable by the laws of the "dismal science," or by all the tables of statistics, or by poor old Professor Sumner, or by any industrial necessity, or by the quiddities of the casuists, or by the bluff of mercenary editors, or upon moral grounds. Human nature revolts against it. It is an infernal state of things.

Whether or not the "wage-system" must be abolished before a better industrial state can be introduced, we shall yet see. But no observant man can doubt that that system, as controlled by

capitalism in these times, has proved a monstrous failure, and is doomed.

What can be done? That is the question which I press upon my readers, whether thoughtful or unthinking. I cannot present here any nostrum that will work like a charm. I have not any ready-restorer at hand, nor have I any satisfactory lotion, elixir, balm, plaster, brain-food, lung-reliever, anti-nervine, liver-pad, hair restorer, gum-drop, corn cure, or vermin exterminator. I do not despise all kinds of patent medicines, but I have never known of a cure-all among them. Years ago, when I was the editor of a weekly paper which strove to lead labor to think of itself, I used to have the pleasure of seeing lots of people who told me just how things ought to be doctored. In a single week as many as twenty panaceas were urged upon me, each one complete in itself. The reader who understands what the logicians mean when they speak of things that are "mutually exclusive," will be able to guess how these panaceas affected me, even the best-looking of them. I am quite willing that other people should try any of them if they like; but nobody can get me to vend them. A good many of us would like to find a quick and easy way of breaking up the organic disease which has seized hold of the body politic; but I am not acquainted with any man who can prove that he has found it. What

I desire primarily is that labor shall apprehend the labor question, feeling well enough assured that its general sense and thought will be in accord with the nature of things, and will be practical and useful and fruitful. Let us know the difference between the right and the wrong, between fair play and foul, between the deviltry of the Money Power and the aspirations of mankind. Then, "lay hold of that work which lies nearest to thee."



CHAPTER XIV.

STRIKES MANY.



If strikes were not often won, they would not often be begun.

If strikes were always, or nearly always, defeated everywhere, there would be very few of them anywhere.

About one-eighth of all strikes are successful ; about one-quarter of them are partially successful, and full another eighth of them are advantageous in some way to labor. There yet remains, then, a half of the whole which are set down as failures, though they occasionally lead the employing class to tread more lightly than before, and cause it to suffer loss greater than it would have suffered by granting the concession asked for, and thus serve a useful warning at large.

The strike is a sign of vitality ; it is an evidence that the soul of the strikers has not been utterly crushed ; it is proof that there is life in the pluck.

About three-quarters of all strikes are against a reduction of wages ; about a quarter are for an advance of wages, or for a shortening of the work-day, or for the redress of some grievance.

The fact that, within my time at least, the capitalist organs have unanimously opposed every strike known of by me, is far from being conclusive evidence of the uselessness of strikes to labor. The fact that they always howl like madmen against strikers and "strike leaders," does not show to a certainty that this howling is prompted by any ardent devotion to the welfare of labor. I must here interrupt these remarks in order to say, by way of parenthesis, that, for the first time within my knowledge, there were a few exceptions to the anti-labor unanimity of the wealthy daily papers in the case of the railway strike of 1894. In another part of this book I have referred to the noble course taken toward the strike by the proud *Chicago Times*, and though, on account of the blockade, I was unable to get the San Francisco papers during the first half of July, I believe that both the *Examiner* and the *Bulletin* upheld the right side of it. To me, as a whilom newspaper man, these things are doubtless of vastly more significance and importance than they are to most other people. To me, the fact that there has been, within the daily press ranks, a break favorable to labor, is one of the most hopeful features of the year's news.

In recent years strikers have nearly always stood ready to submit their case to any fair tribunal of arbitration ; and some of the cases thus

submitted, more especially in England, have been settled in a way acceptable to both sides. But hardly ever have the capitalists been willing to arbitrate, and this fact cannot certainly be regarded as favorable to their side. If that splenetic old millionaire Pullman had agreed to arbitrate when asked to do so by his own workmen, and afterwards by the American Railway Union, and, finally, by the Mayor of Chicago, all the bloodshed and the loss that grew out of his refusal would have been prevented. He knew that any tribunal whatsoever, even one made up of Cleveland, Olney, and Grosscup, must have decided against him, unless he spent more money in bribing it than the total sum in dispute. In that strike at Fall River, of which I have spoken in a previous chapter, I believe that any undebauched tribunal, after looking at the mill hands on one side and the mill owners on the other, or after hearing the statements made by both sides, would have given a decision that would have ended the strike at once. It is hard to conceive of but one decision from any decent tribunal to which the case of the gigantic coal strike of 1894, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, might have been submitted. A good friend tells me that he would not arbitrate between a hyena and its prey, if the prey were a weakling of our race; and I agree with my friend in that respect. I have not any particular fancy for the

arbitration system, as things stand, and I hold that labor ought to secure its rights otherwise ; but arbitration may sometimes be better than war. I have not any fancy for strikes, but they are better than hopeless and ceaseless and ever-increasing degradation. It is the business of labor to assert its power and rectify its wrongs through other methods, which it is empowered to use, under which land-pirates will be throttled as the sea-pirates have been.

"The strike" is the most suggestive thing in the modern revolt of labor. As it exists in our generation it is a novelty.

There were a few strikes, mostly small, in this country in the first half of the nineteenth century ; there were others, some of them locally important, in the third quarter of it ; there have been many thousands, several of which have shaken the continent, in the last quarter of it. These latter bear no resemblance to the uprisings of slaves in ancient times, or to anything ever undertaken by any of the mediæval guilds, or to the petty affairs of the first half of our century. They have frequently prevailed over a vast extent of territory ; they have sometimes enlisted many tens of thousands of men ; they have occasionally been kept up for months ; they have directly affected all public interests ; there have been riots and bloodshed in a number of them ; they have fired the

passions of both sides in contest ; they have been lost, or won, or compromised.

There was not, and there was no need of, and there could not have been, such strikes in old times as we have seen in our generation. The industrial and social conditions which now exist (as described in the first five chapters of this book), and from which have grown capitalism on the one hand and labor organizations on the other, were unknown in the United States before the present generation came upon the stage. As the capitalists have entered into combination, the laborers have followed their example. As corporations, syndicates, and trusts have been formed, so also have labor unions. As organized capital has become more aggressive, organized labor has felt the greater necessity of resisting its assaults. I believe that, if Unionism had not taken the field, capitalism would by this time have been even more, or far more, domineering than it is, while labor would have lain prone in the doldrums,—all labor, including that of agriculture.

STRIKES, PAST AND PRESENT.

One of the earliest “turnouts” in this country was that of the Philadelphia shoemakers, about a hundred years ago. Thrice they turned out within four years, and never once in vain—hurrah for them ! In the third year of this century the jack-

tars in the harbor of New York turned out to redress their wrongs, marched along the waterfront, played hokey in the town, braced up with grog, and frightened the guard, by which, however, they were driven to their ships, and then their leader was seized and sent to limbo. The New York shoemakers turned out six years afterward, and won; in six years more the Pittsburg shoemakers turned out, and lost; in yet another six the Albany printers turned out, and compromised. Among the other local turnouts of the first half of the century were those of the spinning women of Dover, N. H.; the carpenters and masons of Boston; the laborers of the Providence Railroad Company (militia were called out); the operatives of twenty mills at Paterson; the coal handlers, brickmakers, and weavers of Philadelphia; the dam builders in Maine; the iron workers of Pittsburg, who turned out twice, lost the first time to win the next; and the shoemakers of Philadelphia, who won again. Philadelphia was then the chief American manufacturing city, and was the scene of a large number of unreported turnouts, most of which were successful. About the close of the first half of the century, the word "strike," as now used, came into vogue, and there were several good-sized strikes. One of them was that of the Fall River weavers; another that of the Pittsburg iron industries, and another that of the

shoemakers in a lot of Massachusetts towns. There was, by this time, more union among wage-workers than there had previously been, and more also among employers. As is known, there were then many more local strikes than could here be mentioned, and, in so far as can be learned, the majority of them were won, while most of the others were compromised. I am told by a very old and horny-handed Yankee acquaintance that the American workingmen of those times were "pretty tolerably independent," as they "were sure of getting a job somewhere or somehow, and they had the right to take up land out West, if they wanted to."

Early in the second half of the century the great American Civil War broke out, and strikes were neither numerous nor big while it lasted. In three years after it ended the spinners and weavers of Fall River went on a strike, which was partly successful. There were, perhaps, a score of other sizeable strikes during the decade ending with 1870, some of which were successful, and others not.

We have now got to a period in which strikes became more serious than they had ever been. The cigarmakers struck many a time and in many a place, year after year, the consequence of which was that some of their grosser wrongs were partially alleviated. There were strikes in cotton



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and woollen mills, in mines, in the building trades, the printing trades, and more other branches of industry than can be here counted, the results of which varied.

Now we reach the last and most grim-visaged quarter of the nineteenth century, during which we have had strikes of proportions never before dreamed of, and never before possible.

The working people had advanced greatly in intelligence; nearly two millions of them had been organized in Unions, many of which were national; they had come to a better understanding of the necessity of united action; they felt the grip of monopoly and the Money-Power as it had not previously been felt. It was a time of revolutionary changes in the relations between the American laborer and the American capitalist.

The most gigantic strike ever known in the United States, up to 1877, broke out in July of that year. It was the first of our volcanic railroad strikes. It began in West Virginia, when the locomotive firemen struck upon the Baltimore and Ohio road, and within a week it had spread to the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the Lake Shore, the Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago, the Cincinnati and St. Louis, the Vandalia, Ohio and Mississippi, the C., C., C. and E., the Erie and Pittsburg, the Philadelphia and Erie, the Chicago and

Alton, the Canada Southern, and the other minor lines. Such a brief sketch of this upheaval as can be given in this volume will appear in another chapter.

Strikes multiplied enormously after 1877. For each and every year of the ensuing ten years they averaged between 800 and 1,000, many of them very large; and it appears from the official statistics that not far from one-half of them all were more or less successful. The country's industries could not have been carried on if corporations and capitalists had not either made some trivial concessions to labor or refrained from executing designs which they had entertained against it. According to the most authentic estimates, over 2,000,000 wage-workers were involved in the strikes that occurred between 1877 and 1887.

In 1885 the Wabash Railroad strike was the event of the year. In March of 1886 the famous Gould strike on the Southwestern railroad system took place. It was undertaken by the Knights of Labor in defence of their Order, which its bitter enemy, Jay Gould, had determined to crush, in order to screw down wages, as was made evident by his conduct. Its manager, on the labor side, was Martin Irons, a true, able, and brave man, to whom was opposed the multi-millionaire and Wall street sharper, Jay Gould, now dead. The strike was a tremendous strain upon all concerned in it,

and both sides fought with desperation. It was almost as volcanic as the strike of 1877. All the trains of the system were blocked; all traffic over its lines was stopped. There was rioting, against which the State authorities and militia were powerless. The papers of the period printed blood-curdling accounts of the daily occurrences, and told how the strikers had seized the cities of St. Louis, Sedalia, Atchison, Kansas City, Parsons, Fort Worth, Little Rock, and Texarkana, besides lesser places. In the end the strikers were beaten, and the gory-handed Gould stood on top of them.

That same year the commerce of New York was paralyzed by the strike of the coal and freight handlers, which lasted until the ensuing year. The strikers got worn-out, but gained some of their points.

Two years afterwards, or in December of 1887, the notable "Reading strike," as it is called, began on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. It was against the company's attempt to non-Unionize its labor. At first about 6,000 railroaders belonging to the Knights of Labor quit work; but within a short time as many as 30,000 of them participated in the strike. The loss of time and money on both sides was heavy, as also was the loss to consumers of coal on account of the advance in its price. It were untrue to say that this great strike was in all respects a failure.

In the same year we had the very important and winning strike of the glass-workers of Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other places. We also had the strike in the Edgar Thompson Steel Works, in which that rich botch of all things, Carnegie, figured disadvantageously.

Early the next year (1888) was the time of the great "C. B. & Q." strike—the strike of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad and its branches. The strike was long and hard-fought. The Brotherhood would surely and easily have won all its demands, but for the unjustifiable conduct of some of the members of a rival labor organization. In the long run, however, the Brotherhood succeeded in beating down all opposition to its supremacy.

In 1889 there were not any strikes of the highest importance; but the strike of the street-car drivers of New York city, and that of the Feather-Workers' Union there, and that of the glass-blowers of New Jersey (which was successful) are worth remembering.

The most notable of the thousand strikes of 1890-'91 were those of the coke workers in the Connellsville region, the thread-mill operatives of Kearney, N. J., and the cloakmakers and tailors in New York. This last strike was a strike of despair, in the wretched Jewish quarters on the

East Side of the city. It was illustrated by "starvation processions" and other ghastly scenes and by suffering indescribable, which had to be endured by at least 50,000 men, women, and children, the slaves and the offspring of the slaves of rich and cruel bosses. When it ended the strikers had gained something, though little, and were rather better than worse off. The chief figure in the strike was Joseph Barondess, a very able and accomplished young man, a leader brave and strong. He has been made the hero of a novel of singular attractiveness, entitled "Joseph Zalmonah," by Edward King, an estimable, brilliant, and sympathetic author. Mr. Barondess is at this time the President of the Operators' and Cloakmakers' Union of New York.

By far the greatest and most exasperating of all the many strikes of 1892 was the summer strike at Homestead, near Pittsburg, in the Carnegie Steel Company's Works. Beside it there was the lockout of the Granite Syndicate, which threw into idleness 70,000 men in New York, New Jersey, and New England; and there was the three months' strike of the pavers in New York; and there was the successful strike of the street railroad men of New Orleans; and there was the unsuccessful strike of 15,000 workmen, of all trades, in the same city; and there were hundreds of lesser strikes in as many industries and as

many places, the outcomes of which were good, bad, and indifferent. In the Homestead strike, or shut-down, which lasted from mid-summer to year's end, there were tragical incidents daily, from the fight with the "Pinkerton thugs," who had been hired by Bully Frick in Carnegie's interest, to the attempted killing of Frick,—from the time the militia-men were brought upon the ground until the time when one of their number was hanged up by the thumbs, at the order of their commander—from the erection of bulwarks at the mills till the alleged discovery of the "poisoning conspiracy"—from the time the Unionists went out until the time hunger stifled their voices and blacklegs took their places. Frick fought for Carnegie under the black flag, and at the end of the strike that flag floated over the Carnegie Steel Works at Homestead. Many victims had fallen to feed the lust of Carnegie, the "bloated millionaire;" much property had been destroyed; hundreds of homes had been broken up. Though Carnegie feasted in his "castle" across the sea all the while the trouble lasted, the groans of bereaved widows and children must have smitten his ears; the graves of his dead workmen will be his memorial; the hatred of living sufferers will follow him when he is dead. The quarrel of Carnegie with his unhappy wage-workers grew out of his attempt to cut down the weekly pay

of the members of the Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers' Union, whose wrongs touched so deeply the sympathy of the other men in his service that all of them, to the number of between four and five thousand, went on strike.

Only a writer with the thrilling pen of Balzac could tell the story of the Homestead strike of 1892; and if that rare French genius were yet alive he could throw off chapters about it as gory as any passage of his "*Episode sous la Terreur*." I wonder that some American author with a soul,—such an one as must surely exist—has not immortalized his name by writing true sketches of the cruel deeds perpetrated at Homestead by the Carnegie-Pinkerton-Frick-Streator terrorists.

Thus far we have run along through the years till 1893, in which strikes were not less plentiful than they had been the previous year. In the third month of it there was news of an incident of a novel kind. A strike against the handling of the cars of a boycotted non-union line had been begun, in which members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, employed upon the Little Toledo, Ann Arbor and North Michigan Railroad, were involved. The case was taken up by a Federal Court, two of the judges of which, Taft and Ricks, ordered Chief Arthur, of the first-

named Brotherhood, to promulgate a notice that the Brotherhood's by-law, under which the strike had been justified, was not in force. The chief obeyed this surprising order of court, and the strike ended. In the West, also, a Federal judge got his nose into a strike ; but in this case the result did not prove altogether satisfactory to him. Toward the end of 1893 the largest strikes of the year took place. The operatives on the Lehigh Valley Railroad lines struck work for a fortnight in defence of Unionism, and, though the strike was unsuccessful, it was costly not only to the company, but also to the Wilkes-Barre coal miners, 27,000 of whom were ousted on account of the lack of coal-carrying trains. Next there was the remarkable strike for Unionism and against a cut in wages by the work-people in the Danbury hat factories, upon which nearly the whole 20,000 inhabitants of the place are dependent. Both sides could stand a pretty long pull, and, as the strikers constituted a majority of the voters there, they called a special town meeting, and voted an appropriation of \$50,000 for their own benefit, thus setting a great, good, and memorable example of the use of political action to labor in a time of straits. The strike dragged from November till January, by which time some of the factories had given in, and things were kind of straightened up in others.

The first important strike of the year 1894 was in its second month, when the workers in the silk ribbon factories of Paterson and four other places in the States of New Jersey and New York, sought a slight advance in the scale of wages, which had been much reduced the previous year. Early in March as many as 10,000 of them were out in Paterson alone, besides others elsewhere, under the auspices of the United Silk Weavers of America. There were a few disturbances of slight consequence at Paterson. I hate the word "scabs," but the bosses got some of them in May and June. The strike was not successful. Next came, about the middle of April, the first strike ever entered into by the newly organized American Railway Union, under President Debs; and the chief facts of this strike, which was a great success, have already been told in this book. The strike of the potters of New Jersey lasted from January till July, when it was settled by a compromise.

THE THRALLS OF THE COAL KINGS.

It was a prodigious strike of the enthralled, half-starved, and dolorous coal miners of the United States that broke out in the third week of April, 1894. It had been so carefully planned that in three days the President of the National Miners' Union, John McBride, was able to say

that there were already out 128,000 men, and that the strike had been simultaneous in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, West Virginia, Minnesota, and in the Indian Territory, or in very nearly the whole of the coal fields of the United States. It was the result of a resolution which had been adopted by the National Miners' Convention, held at the capital of Ohio, ten days before the declaration of the strike, and which was the echo of the groans of the wretched gangs of blackamoors who toil in the pits for a bare subsistence in order that over-gorged corporations may be enriched beyond the dreams of avarice. It was a pitiful strike against pitiless power. It was the poorest of toilers against the masters of hundreds of millions of capital. It was a spectacle that could never be seen in our country if we had a Congress that cared even the least for the public welfare, or for freedom, or for the common safety, or for anything at all beyond office and self-aggrandizement. "Crush the wretches!" cried King Capital, and the cry was re-echoed by politicians, pulpiteers, editors, and plunderers of every kind. "Shame, where is thy blush?" asks Shakespeare. The militia was, of course, called out in all the States concerned; Governors were aflame with zeal to "vindicate the law;" the private armies of the

coal kings were in the field under disguise, ready to stir up riot or commit murder by authority; the sheriffs and the county police were everywhere at hand.

I must hope that the readers of this book were daily readers of the news from the coal regions between the middle of April and the middle of July, even though every dispatch was colored against the strikers and every fact of the strike was distorted. One must look behind the print of papers now-a-days.

“The old scale and no compromise” was the motto of the striking miners—the motto of 128,000 of them at the first, and of yet more soon afterwards.

In a week the manufacturing interests and many other industries of the country, especially of the West, were affected by the strike. Hundreds of establishments had to shut down, so that the hosts of the unemployed were greatly enlarged. The railroads everywhere felt the coal famine severely. The policy of the companies was to raise the price, so as to keep their treasuries full.

There was rioting in many places, nearly always the result of the goading of the miners by men in uniform or out of it. There was so much shooting for the “protection of property” that over 100 strikers, including a few women, were killed or wounded in the coal regions. Here and

there the wild-eyed miners fought the militia with stones, sticks, knives, and other such things, with which they never seemed to inflict much injury. There were bad times out at Cripple Creek, in Colorado, where some people dreaded an insurrection. There were bad times for the Alabama miners, who were dying of starvation in the second week of the strike. It was said that the striking Slavs and Italians of Western Pennsylvania had "stocked up with dynamite;" but as soon as two regiments of militia could rush to Walston the dynamiters decamped. Bridges and other railroad property had been destroyed in two or three States. Negroes brought from the South were set to work in some of the mines of Pennsylvania, and convicts, all black, in those of Alabama, where the strike collapsed sooner than anywhere else. The dispatches sent to the papers about the doings of the strikers everywhere were frightful. It was falsely alleged that by the middle of June they had lost as much as \$12,500,000 in wages, and the companies about the same amount from rioting, for which the States must yet pay, as they did not furnish all the militia needed to devour the strikers. The striking miners, especially the Huns, in five of the States tramped and counter-tramped, looking for anything to eat; but in the six other coal States they were prohibited from tramping. Scores of men died from hunger,

and scores of women and children. The coke manufacturers began to start their ovens with idle non-Unionists. Thus things went along through May and June, and into July. It was a long strike.

The strikers started out with "no compromise;" but the leaders lost faith in this policy. On the 5th of June they gave up the hope of securing a national settlement, and concluded to try for a district settlement. Local conferences between bodies of operators and miners were held at various places that week, and on the 11th a compromise, providing for an advance of fifteen cents a ton, was agreed upon at such a conference, acting for both parties, in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. A great part of the miners did not like this compromise, but others were glad of it. The area of starvation was steadily extending. There was, by the end of June, a slow but wide-spread resumption of work in the coal regions. The prodigious strike of the enthralled and half-starved miners was lost sight of early in July.

Another and still more terrifying strike was "on"—the "sympathetic strike" of the American Railway Union, to which several chapters of this book are devoted.

A very bitter feeling had been stirred up against the miners during the strike, because so many of

them were Slavs, Huns, and other foreigners. When the militia shot or killed them they did not look upon them as human beings, but as embruted "aliens," deserving of death. There are two remarks to be made here. In the first place, a large proportion of these aliens had been imported to our country as serfs by the corporations, in order that they might supplant the better-paid American, Welsh, Irish, and Scotch miners of other times; and the proof of this fact is contained in that British Parliamentary Blue Book, published last year, upon European Emigration to America. They were brought to the United States as "cheap labor," under the false promises of the coal corporations, and they have all along been kept in a state of abject poverty by these same cruel corporations. In the second place, and finally, even alien "Huns" are really human, like ourselves; possess souls, like our own; have hearts that beat; are kindly and well-disposed; have wives and children, whom they love as well as most other people love theirs; and may even, for all I know, have a better chance of reaching heaven than any of the soulless corporations of the State that has disgraced the upright name of William Penn,

CHAPTER XV.

VIOLENCE IN STRIKES.



IT is certainly not my purpose, in any part of this book, to lead any reader to suppose that the masses of men engaged in the various big strikes of recent times were all or always of quiet conduct; nor would I underestimate the amount of property destroyed in any case, partly by the strikers, but far more largely by the outside miscreants who are sure to turn up in times of trouble, and to run amuck whenever an opportunity is offered. An American strike, whatever be its size or its cause, always begins peacefully, and with appeals from the leaders to their forces in favor of obedience to law and the maintenance of order, and also against any interference with the rights or the possessions of the parties on the other side, and against any resistance to legal authority. But beyond a doubt, when a strike has lasted for a long time, and when the hostility of each side to the other has been intensified, and when the strikers have begun to suffer from want, and when obstinacy is met by obstinacy, and when the

gleam of the bayonet is within sight, there is danger of trouble, and a very petty thing may be the cause of it. There was plenty of "rioting," not always without provocation, during the great coal strike of 1894, when over 300,000 men, including others than miners, were out. There was a great deal of property destroyed, in one way or another, during the three months of idleness. There were gangs of vagabonds, often belonging to the vast class of forever "out-of-works," ready to stir up or get up a fight, if not to join in it. There were cases in which some of the strikers perpetrated deeds of death and destruction. There were, occasionally, rough shindies among the strikers themselves, but rarely ever between them and the militia or police, if we can believe the official reports, which nearly always told of the flight and scattering of any mob as soon as it caught sight of armed authority. Nearly every man killed in any State in which the long coal strike prevailed was either on the side of the miners or was, as the English say, a "rattener," if he were not a tramp. The casualties in the ranks of any uniformed body anywhere were very few indeed. Yet, for all that, there were shocking incidents of violence and scenes of wreckage in all the coal regions during the progress of the strike. The man who does not regret them, and who would not have striven with all his



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might to prevent them, cannot be a "friend to labor."

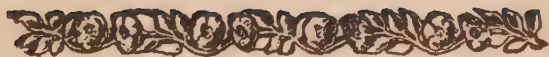
In other great strikes, as in the one of 1877, the one upon the Gould system, the one at Homestead, and in others, there have been spectacles and experiences of the same kind.

I speak with assurance when I say, that this country never saw any great strike in which the strikers were so successful in preserving peace and order in their ranks all along as in that of the American Railway Union in June and July of 1894. There were, unhappily, deeds of violence and destruction perpetrated during the weeks of the strike, but hardly any of them was ever traceable to the Unionists. They were always described as the work of "mobs," and there was not a case in which any of these "mobs" consisted of the Unionists on strike. The power of the Union lay in the maintenance of the peace by its members, and no truth-teller can deny that the body of them carefully and steadily refrained from any conduct of a lawless kind, unless, indeed, the boycott, or the strike itself, was unlawful. The Unionists went out like soldiers on parade, and as long as they stayed out they demeaned themselves like troops in garrison. The officers of the Union gave notice that its members stood ready at any time to aid in the preservation of order and to unite with the authorities in sup-

pressing any turmoil in which irresponsible persons outside their ranks might try to indulge during the continuance of that intense popular excitement which had been stirred up by circumstances attendant upon the strike, already described in previous chapters. A satisfactory reason for the exemplary conduct of the strikers in this instance may be found in the rules of the Union, in the training of its members, which resembles that of an army, and in the nature of their business. "Every railroad employé, from the truckman up, is subject to the strictest discipline, and it can be said that in no other branch of industry is there an organization like that of the railroaders, who are accustomed to give implicit obedience to orders."

There has been monstrous exaggeration by some of the press-writers of the amount of violence and of the damage wrought by strikers in the strikes of recent times. That brilliant English author, Mr. Stead, has published in the *Contemporary Review*, of London, a lurid sketch of phantom scenes in the coal regions of this country during the miners' strike, made up from the dispatches of the sensational reporter of a Chicago daily paper which was one of the chief vilipenders of the miners on strike. It is an extravaganza. It is an array of incidents, few of

which ever took place. It is too fantastic for print. I do not see how a man of Mr. Stead's goodness, sense, ability, and high character could ever be led to believe in such horrid things. The events that occurred, the deeds that were done upon both sides in the course of the strike were bad enough, but I cannot help recommending Mr. Stead to look over once again the narrative of the life and adventures of Don Quixote.



CHAPTER XVI.

AN INTERRUPTION.

AFTER I had completed the writing of the previous chapter, I read again, and more carefully than ever before, the two protests which Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, sent to President Cleveland against his military interference in the affairs of the State. (They will be found in the Appendix.) I urge every reader of this book to study them with the closest attention, to observe their affirmations, to weigh their arguments, and to form a judgment upon them under the light of old-time American principles. They are masterpieces. They gratify the reason and inspire the mind. They create a new hope that liberty and justice will yet be vindicated in our country. They are fitted to make the patriot proud of their author, to make us rejoice that there is such a man in the Democratic party, and in the Governor's chair of one of the greatest States of the American Union. He is a jurist worthy of the reputation which he won on the bench, a constitutional lawyer of the first rank, a statesman, a patriot, a brave politician, and a true man.

It was out of Cleveland's power, and out of Olney's, and out of Lamont's, to answer his arguments; and so Cleveland, bent upon his evil course, sent to each appeal a curt reply, that can be looked at only with contempt.

As a matter of course, the organs of the Money-Power burst into a fury against the Governor for defending the constitutional rights and franchises of Illinois; but they could not lessen the force of his appeals, which will shine in American history long after all his assailants are forgotten.

Governor Altgeld's protest met the full approval of the Governors of not a few other States, among whom may be named Lewelling, of Kansas; Pennoyer, of Oregon; Hogg, of Texas; Waite, of Colorado; Stone, of Missouri, and (I guess) McConnell, of Idaho; Tillman, of South Carolina; Osborne, of Wyoming, and Shortridge, of North Dakota.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE DREAD MEMORIES OF 1877.



READ are the memories associated with the transcendent and portentous strike of 1877, the first of the great railroad strikes in the United States. It was a case in which the loss of life and the destruction of property far surpassed those that had occurred in any previous uprising of labor, or that have marked any one since then. If the younger folks of to-day have heard of that strike, only their elders who lived amid its scenes can truly know what it meant.

The field of operations extended over the country from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi, from the Canadian line to the Virginia border and the Ohio River, taking in 12,000 miles of railroad. Over 60,000 men took part in it directly, and more than twice as many others were thrown out of work by reason of it. The killed and wounded ran up to many hundreds. The regular army and the militia to the number of 100,000 were out in a score of States. The "mobs" were big. The scenes and incidents were like those of civil war, so long as the strike lasted.

It lasted for just about a fortnight. It was brought on by a heavy and cruel cut of ten per cent. in the already low wages, aggravated by other swindling measures of the corporations.

It began Monday, July 16th, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, at Martinsburg, West Virginia, and within a week (according to the record in a previous chapter) had spread from there to the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the Lake Shore, the Pittsburgh, the Fort Wayne and Chicago, the Cincinnati and St. Louis, the Vandalia, Ohio and Mississippi, the Erie and Pittsburgh, the Philadelphia and Erie, the C. B. & Q., the Chicago and Alton, the Canada Southern, and to a number of minor lines. The railroaders had tried hard to avoid the strike, but there was nothing else left to them, as they could not live decently upon the pay and under the exactions of the insatiable corporations. It had been designed to open the strike at Baltimore, but for satisfactory reasons it was opened at Martinsburg. It began there with the firemen on the freight engines, who were at once joined by the brakemen, and very soon by others, so that all trains were brought to a stop and the strikers commanded the situation. When two companies of militia were called out to "preserve order," they fraternized with the strikers, and thus order was preserved. Nevertheless, it happened that a railroader was killed by a militia-man's bul-

let—the first blood drawn in the conflict. As the few other militia companies thereabout were also in sympathy with the strike, the Governor of the State asked help from President Hayes, who put a small body of infantry and artillery near Martinsburg. By the next day, Tuesday, the strike reached Wheeling ; it spread rapidly to Baltimore, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Kansas City, and other places, one line after another being involved. Within two days there was an embargo on a dozen lines ; industry and business were in confusion ; the blood of the contestants and the country grew hot ; gangs of hoodlums came to the front everywhere, from Buffalo to St. Louis. At Baltimore, on Friday the 20th, when the militia were ordered to disperse a “mob,” they fired right and left, killing twelve men and boys, besides wounding a large number of others, not one of whom was a striker. It was said that stones had been thrown at the militia, and that seven of them had been hit. The strike was “on” all around. The Erie, the Pennsylvania, and other lines were tied up far and near. It was the most stirring week that had ever been known in the history of American railroads. The people everywhere were as if thunderstruck.

Sunday, the 22d of July, was the ever memorable day of bloodshed, fire, and wreckage at Pittsburg. The mass of the working people there

sympathized with the strike against the despots of the rail, and as nearly all business was at a standstill, multitudes of them were in the streets. The Pittsburg militia had been ordered out two days previously, but very few of them obeyed the order, and it became evident that they would not be of service, as they also shared in the popular feeling. Another militia body, 600 strong, had then been hastily brought to the city from Philadelphia, and among its equipments were two Gatling guns. As the troops of this body marched through the crowded streets they opened fire upon very slight provocation, killing twenty men, women, and children, besides wounding an unknown number of others. This shocking butchery aroused intense popular excitement, and when the Philadelphia troops, on Saturday night, took up their quarters in the railroad round-house, which had been fortified, untold thousands of Pittsburgers surged around it. The round-house was besieged all the night, and when the militia General, who was panic-struck, heard that the besiegers had got possession of a cannon he told his sharpshooters to "pick them off," and they did so. Shots were fired in reply from the house-tops. The city was inflamed, and its men, women, and children were crazed with the desire for revenge. At day-break of Sunday the round-house was fired; a flaming car of coke saturated with petro-

leum was rolled alongside of it. The men of the beleaguered garrison were in a desperate strait—they would be burned to death if they could not escape. The besieging mob—which was a mob indeed—yelled with fury and challenged them to come out. They had no choice. Headed by the two Gatling guns, which could not be worked, the militia-men made a break for life through the mob. They broke through it headlong. The mob was at their heels, using rifles upon them, under which not a few fell. They were fired at from roofs and windows. They replied with bullets, so far as they could. Their route was along Penn avenue to Torrens station, where, luckily for them, they found a place of safety, if not of dishonor. The militia had suffered a loss of about twenty killed and thrice as many wounded. The mob had lost far more heavily, through the fire of the sharpshooters. The rioters were now in control of the city, and the work of destruction began. They fell upon the railroad property. They smashed and looted the freight cars, and by nine o'clock of that Sunday morning everything belonging to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in Pittsburg was afire, or otherwise destroyed. There were "acres of flame," according to reports printed at the time. As many as 126 locomotive engines and 1,600 freight cars, besides the railroad shops, material, and machinery, were wrecked. The

estimate put upon the loss of the Pennsylvania Company was \$5,000,000, \$2,000,000 of which were afterwards recovered from the county. Even the great "draft-riots" in New York, during the civil war, had been less destructive. The next day, Monday, the troubles in Pittsburg began to subside. Vengeance had done its work. Hundreds of people, many of them innocent, had fallen. The slaughter had been begun by the First City Troop, of Philadelphia, upon its arrival in Pittsburg. This time again "Some one had blundered."

Pittsburg became orderly as rapidly as it had become disorderly. During the week a small force of the regular army arrived there at the request of the Governor, but by that time the city was in peace.

There was rioting in many cities besides those spoken of, among which Reading, Scranton, Allegheny City, Altoona, Harrisburg, and Philadelphia may be named. In hundreds of other places there were "mobs," or, in other words, big droves of people, without any rioting. There was very little trouble in Chicago; there was not any in New York, and there was no strike on the New York Central road, or on the Pacific lines. For a week New York city was armed to the teeth, in readiness for an outbreak. The most notable incident of the time there was the holding of a

labor demonstration, 10,000 strong, in Tompkins Square, on July 25th. The author of this book was the chairman of the night, and the nature of the audience may be judged from the chairman's opening remark: "I speak to you, not less than to the 4,000 rifles that here cover you and to the 1,200 clubs now drawn against you!" The meeting passed off quietly, and the detective on the platform appointed to "take off" the chairman with his revolver, if there was any fuss, had found nothing to do.

I have just looked over a pile of old papers, printed in July of 1877, and any reader of them would say that the country must have been rocking and surging as if the day of doom were at hand.

The embargo on some of the roads was raised early in the second week of the strike, and on others some days afterward.

It is not true that this uprising of the railroaders was a total failure. Many of the corporations compromised, giving better terms to their men during the strike, or after the close of it. It certainly would not be easy to hire locomotive firemen at this time for \$1.35 a day, or to withhold wages for three or four months, or to dock them as they were then docked, or to keep them on half time, or to oblige them to board at their own expense—a dollar a day at a corporation rookery.

There was a good deal gained by the strike of 1877; and Vanderbilt gave his men a gift of \$100,000 for sticking to their trains all through it.

Pittsburg was the scene of those incidents of the strike which were by far the most tragical and sanguinary. Yet there has been many a strike in or near Pittsburg since that time, the greatest of which, two years ago, was of especial concern to rich old Carnegie.

There never can be an end of strikes so long as American labor continues to be the prey of the wild beast, capitalism.



CHAPTER XVIII.

AS TO "LABOR LEADERS."



CELEBRATED American editor, who recently visited Russia for the first time, was asked upon his return to New York, what he thought of the Russians. "I found," he replied, "that the Russians are very much like the rest of us."

That is just about what I would say of the "labor leaders." In so far as the men thus described have come under my eye during the past twenty years, they have borne a marked resemblance to other folk.

I have had the luck to become acquainted with a good many of them in different parts of the country, to know something of their character or quality, and to be more or less familiar with their conduct from time to time. It is possible that, as I myself have always carried personal independence to its farthest bound, and have rarely ever been able to accept all the opinions of men who are wiser than I am, I may often have been at a disadvantage; but I do not see that there can be any help for this.

For the information of those readers who know nothing about me, it may be proper to remark here, before comparing "labor leaders" with other people, that I have had pretty fair opportunities of becoming acquainted with mankind at large. I have known the rich and proud as well as the poorest and humblest of my fellow-creatures, the lords paramount as well as their slaves; the learned peacocks as well as the objects of their contempt; the saints (if there be any alive) and the very unsanctified; the editors, from Murat Halstead downward; the whites and the blacks, the Jews and their enemies, the politicians and preachers, the literary persons of all types, the judicial thimble-riggers, the reporters, the organ-grinders, the farmers, the denizens of all European countries from the Mediterranean to the Arctic circle, and whatever other kind or style of human beings it has pleased the Creator to put in our queer old world. In a lifetime of travel, adventure, pen-pushing, hard work, numerous experiences, and varying fortunes, it has been my luck to know "men of all sorts and conditions," in which category the Prayer-Book undoubtedly includes the other sex. I am less easily deceived than might be supposed by those of the readers of this book who may take a glance at one of the pictures which I am told the publishers are determined to put in it. I trust that there is no super-

fluous vanity in these remarks, which are introduced here merely to show that when I speak of "labor leaders," I do so with a reasonable amount of knowledge of mankind. I am the more unprejudiced in the case as I never have been a labor leader, and am interested in the labor question only as a well-wisher of my struggling and over-worried fellow-mortals. All of us will soon be out of this hard world, and I must hope that a good lot of the more decent part of this generation will yet get into Paradise. I don't believe we will ever want to look back at this groaning earth after we get there.

Well, then, I guess that the labor leaders are "very much like the rest of us." I have never had reason to think that many of them are either Saint Johns or Judases, either giants of intellect or fools, either men of undue executive power or incapables. I believe that the great majority of them are true, able, honest, sincere, earnest, and worthy men. I know that some of them are men of noble spirit, self-sacrificing life, large intelligence, sound judgment, and high aims. Some of them are of rare ability, the full equals of any of the men I have known in the other lines of life with which I have been familiar, and the superiors of very many of them. They are likely to be hard-headed and strong-handed. They are sure



LAKE VISTA FROM NORTH, PULLMAN, ILL.

to be very practical in their ways; it is practical affairs that they deal with. They are more apt to be men of diplomatic quality than of over-enthusiasm. If there is any presumption in them, it is soon knocked out of them. If a labor leader be the President of a big, strong Union, he has need of "all the talents." The office often requires more brains than that of President of the Senate or Speaker of the House. Those people who have never been present at a business meeting of a Union of the kind cannot have any idea of its nature. There are pragmatists, there are wily and obstreperous, and hot-headed and obstructive, and preposterous and fanatical members. At times the President must know how to run things under very trying circumstances, how to keep his wits about him, how to apply rules, how to control, or compose, or temporize, as the case may be. Those people who think it is all plain-sailing in a Union never belonged to one. Those who believe the newspapers which are forever telling how Unionists are "driven like a flock of sheep" never played the part of shepherd. Take, for example, a printers' Union, such an one as exists in Chicago, or New York, or New Orleans, or San Francisco, or many another American city,—why, I shall merely ask you whether you know the typos and pressmen as well as I know them? I can tell you that they

are a stiff crew to "manage," and the man who undertakes that job ought to have had experience as a buccaneer in the Spanish main, and know how to handle a cutlass. Yet I doubt if the Union printers are any better men than the members of the Unions of a hundred or five hundred other trades.

I shall not give any names in this chapter "As to Labor Leaders," but I could tell of men in a good many Unions who possess and display the "genius of statesmanship." I could almost wish it were prudent to mention a dozen or more names that come to my mind. I might tell of a man of signal ability in leadership, who worked as a miner in a coal-pit from the time he was ten years old till he got beyond middle age, and of others, of not less ability, whose training was in the iron-foundry, the cotton-mill, the cigar-factory, the carpenter's shop, the pottery, the brewery, the firemen's car of a locomotive, the bakery, the brick-yard, the composing-room, or in some other of the many trades of the times.

It may be well for labor that the plutocracy has made it next to impossible for such men to enter what is called "public life," since, being kept out of that, they give their services to industrial organization. Under the proper American democratic order of things they would be in Congress, in the legislatures, and in the offices of State,

where they could devise or execute measures for the welfare of the commonalty. Those working-men who are perpetually protesting that they "don't want to go into politics" protest too much. The Money-Power does not want them there. It scorns them.

It is not presumptuous to say that the Unionist leaders of our times are abler men than were those of other times. As Unions have grown in magnitude and power, abler men have been brought to the front. As the Unions of to-day take up questions of greater breadth and moment than those of other days took up, the minds of the members have been correspondingly expanded and deepened and strengthened. The Unions are bodies whose action may at times affect the whole country, and we need not go any farther back than the first half of the year 1894 to find most impressive evidence of the truth of this statement.

But is it really true that there are rascallions among labor leaders? It is! As has already been said, the "Russians are very much like the rest of us." Happy would the world be if there were no rascallions among the merchants, the bankers, the horse-traders, the landlords, the pulpiteers, the Carnegies--ay, the Carnegies!--the

oil, sugar, and whisky trusters, the college professors, the wholesale butchers, the editors—ay, the editors!—the railroad corporations, the book publishers, the millionaires, the bishops, the politicians in Congress or out of it, the sea-captains, the major-generals, and other kinds of people not prominent in the labor movement—which movement would certainly be the eighth wonder of the world if all the rascallions steered clear of it all the time. What I would say is: Keep a lookout for them! Keep a sharper lookout than the other sets of people here spoken of keep for their rascallions. There would not be a man in some of them if all their rascallions were kicked out.

As I write these words I see before me an array of the pictures of the more prominent of the “labor leaders” of the country. They are a good-looking, strong-looking, honest-looking, manly-looking set, quite as pleasing to the eye as any other set of men I could pick out. I would like to put these hundred pictures alongside of as many pictures of — well, let us say insolent editors, or clerical mountebanks, or Yale College professors, or major-generals out of uniform, or members of the General Association of Railroad Managers, Chicago. I should judge that there are more brains in the heads of these hundred “labor leaders” than in the heads of all the

millionaires in the United States, including Pullman.

Let us have no humbug in this case or any other. The labor leaders—and they do not lead as much as ignoramuses think—are constantly subjected to the virulent assaults of the plutocratic press. They have hard duties to perform; they are poorly paid for performing them; their work is rarely ever appreciated by the organizations which they serve; they are soon worn out.

It is fitting that a good word should be spoken for them whenever an opportunity is given.



CHAPTER XIX.

SCHEMES OF THE SCHEMERS—OTHER HINTS.

DURING the strike of the American Railway Union in 1894, and soon after the close of it, cart-loads of schemes for the further manacling of labor, and of other schemes for the pacification or betterment of it, were brought to public notice. The most formidable scheme on the capitalistic side was that of the senior Major-General of the army of the United States, John McAllister Schofield, aged 63. He wants a big regular army. In the days of old the smallness of this army was our boast. We used to be proud that the free American Republic did not need a huge military establishment for any purpose whatsoever, and certainly not for the preservation of "order" in our country. The people were not given to rioting; the local or, in particular cases, the State authorities were amply able to take care of any broil or other trouble; everything that could be asked for was within reach; every question in dispute could be settled at an election. We drew contrasts between our own republic and the embattled powers of Europe, where the barracks are forever in sight, where

the troops are always ready to quell any riot or manifestation of discontent, where the "riff-raff" are terrorized by the bayonet, and where gorgeously uniformed marshals, generals, and colonels ride around on gaily caparisoned steeds that prance, or trot, or canter, or even gallop, under whip, spur, or word of command. How we had gloried in our happy freedom from the rule of the military butchers!

Now, in 1894, General Schofield stalks forth in our land, wearing his war-hat. The *New York Times*, the *World*, and other papers had the pleasure of procuring interviews with him on the subject, in the latter part of July, while he was enjoying the sea-breezes at Bar Harbor, in the State of Maine, the motto on the seal of which is "Dirigo." I must copy a part of a report of his remarks upon one of these occasions, and it may be presumed that he communicated his suggestions to the War Department for the information of the Chief Executive of the government. When asked whether the regular army was ready for any emergency, General Schofield replied thus:

"Certainly, but recent events have convinced the people of the United States that they need more soldiers. Military men have been aware for a long time that the force at their command was not large enough to deal with riotous disorder that might extend over a widespread area. Consequently they have sought to interest successive Congresses in a measure for the enlistment of

a larger number of men. Conservative, thoughtful civilians, however, needed the object-lesson of the late strike to persuade them that the expert soldiers were right. Conditions have greatly changed since the civil war, when the army was put on a peace-footing, and reduced, for purposes of economy, to 25,000 men, its present efficient force. To guard properly our fortifications along the coast alone would take 85,000 men. Of course, we could call upon the militia to help hold our forts in time of foreign war, but a foreign war is a remote possibility, and it is not of that I am thinking. A grave problem now presents itself. That is, how to deal with the vicious and threatening elements of our new people.

"Of late years the duties and responsibilities of the Federal Government have been increased. Interstate commerce acts have imposed new obligations. The great railway highways to the Pacific were specifically made military roads, and must be kept open as such, as well as for the carrying of the United States mails. For the proper performance of its functions and the enforcement of its rights, what power, save the army, has the Executive at his command?

"At a time when riot and disorder may extend all over the country, as for a time seemed to be threatened during the late strike, the militia would be needed at home. They could not be sent either to isolated strategic points or to menaced centres of industry. The preservation of peace at home would absorb their energies. We are driven to the conclusion that the only effective force for guaranteeing safe transit to the mails, for the suppression of riot at isolated points, for holding the command of great strategic centres, and, generally, for preserving the peace of the Union in times of disorder



GEORGE M. PULLMAN

in all the States, is the army. To do this 25,000 troops are too few.

"Disorders such as those we have just gone through may always be anticipated. A year ago or more every keen observer saw the gathering cloud. Industries were flagging, factories closed, times dull, and able-bodied native American workmen, yielding to none in patriotism and love of order, were forced into idleness. How easy it would have been then for the President, if he had had the power, to increase the army to 50,000 men. It is some such measure as this which I should like to have Congress enact into law. There can be no reasonable objection to the plan. It would provide us with the means necessary to uphold the law against rioters and plotters. We should have a force divided thus: Infantry, twenty-five regiments, each of three battalions; cavalry, ten regiments; artillery, seven regiments, an increase of two regiments. We could, with this formation, maintain the skeleton of the army in ordinary times, as it is now, and increase it to 40,000 or 50,000 or 60,000 men when danger threatened."

These are the notions of the senior Major-General of the regular army. He would begin by enlarging that body in the way spoken of, and then upon the approach or the apprehension of any "emergency," it could easily be enlarged again, until the "emergency" was shot to pieces.

Of course, the thought of the other regular Major-Generals is in accord with that of the senior of their title. It would be bad for them if it were not. Howard is of the same opinion as Schofield,

while Miles, whose epaulets are as big as those of any other one of his rank, marches in a straight line at the rear. The regular Brigadier-Generals hold up their heads, and keep an eye on their superiors. The regular Colonels do the same thing. As for the regular Captains, nobody cares what they think. Howard's views, as told by himself, are that the standing army is too small, and ought to be bigger, say at least twice its size—not much more than that at first; but afterwards, who can say what may happen? Getting down to the Colonels, one must halt a minute to hear the voice of Colonel Loomis L. Langdon, in command of the United States troops at Fort Hamilton, the fort to which New York looks for safety. Langdon, speaking in *basso profundo*, says: "The struggle is at hand;" and so he would make the army as heavy as the Treasury could handle. All these military patriots get their pay and allowances out of the Treasury, which the horny-handed workingmen are expected to keep full. If they have their way, we shall all have a chance to enlist for active service; and thus, as Major-General Schofield says, "the idle men will find employment." Perhaps this last suggestion may be worth thinking about.

As for Cleveland, he cannot be kept out of sight. After he had laid the strikers low, with the

aid of the Federal troops, judges and marshals, and after he had taken a long rest, and after he had found out which of his partisans stood most in need of an office, he determined to appoint a "Commission" to inquire into the cause of the strike! It appears that he found the authority for so doing in section 6th of "An act supplementary to an act," which Congressman McGann, of Illinois, had brought under his notice. This Commission was a remarkable illustration of Cleveland's desire to "execute justice" some time after he had knocked part of it in the head and put the rest of it in jail.

Congress, too, must not be forgotten. Both Houses of it expressed their approval of Cleveland's course as dictator, though Senator Peffer and the two other Populist Senators disapproved of it; but what could they do against all the rest? Two Senators proposed that the Senate should declare in favor of arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes, but they could not get a show. Peffer, of Kansas, offered resolutions looking to the Government control of all railroads engaged in inter-State commerce, and several other things were done, or attempted by him, as also by Kyle, of Dakota, and Allen, of Nebraska, without result.

In the House sundry schemes were brought up. There was a bill excluding from the mails

any newspaper "which advises, abets or suggests the commission of any offence against any law." There was a bill to restrict immigration, and another to create a national board of arbitration for the adjustment of labor troubles, and another for the Government ownership of all telegraph lines, and another about the indebtedness of the Central and Union Pacific Railroad Companies to Government, and another for the investigation of the late strike, and so on.

Truly, it looked as though our Congress—both branches of it—had fallen into that "innocuous desuetude" of which Grover Cleveland was the original prophet. Is it possible that these dawdlers are representatives of the masses of the American people? If they are, Heaven save our country! If they are, we had better give Major-General Schofield his big army to keep the peace.

The propositions made in the papers were numberless, and nearly all of them favored that "strong government" which alone, as they believe, can grapple with the labor organizations, the Western Populists, and the various other elements which are dangerous to the Money-Power. It was painful to hear their shrieks about the progress of "Anarchism" among working people, who ask nothing more than the common rights to which they are lawfully entitled. "We must," said one editorial fool, "have statutory

regulations to prevent laborers from suddenly quitting work."

As for the soft-sawder bores, they were heard from all the time in eloquent tones. "Orator Puff," according to Tom Moore, "had two tones to his voice." One of them was a falsetto squeak like that of a surprised chipmunk in a fence-corner, while the other was a rancous baritone like the sound of a horse-fiddle or the bellowing of a bull alligator.

(Once upon a time the sea surged, and there set in a great flood, and the tide rose, and the waves rushed in upon the houses, and everything was threatened with destruction. In the midst of this sublime and terrible storm (so says Sidney Smith) Dame Partington, who lived upon the beach, was seen at the door of her house wielding a mop, with which she strove to push back the Atlantic Ocean. The ocean was aroused and so was her spirit, but the contest was unequal, and the Atlantic beat her. Mrs. Partington was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but she should not have meddled with a tempest.)

Yet this dame had as much sense as exists in the White House, at Washington—as much as has been manifested by Congress.

The tides are rising!

CHAPTER XX.

A SECRET OUT—WHAT THE ENEMY FEARS ABOVE
ALL OTHER THINGS.



IT is well to know what the enemy really thinks of the manœuvring in labor's camp, especially since he has come to know that there is likely to be a change of tactics there. The Money-Power is always ready to tell labor what it ought to do—poor ignorant labor, foolish, presumptuous, bungling, deluded, blind, thick-headed, splay-footed labor. The gist of all the advice is that it should not object to plucking, and should, above all, shut its mouth.

But what is the thing that the enemy is particularly anxious that labor shall not do? What is it that he fears the most?

A tom fool in the enemy's camp has let out the secret. This tom-fool is a "college-bred man," "a native of New England," "an officer of one of the great railroads running into Chicago," and a friend of a certain "X," who, after describing him in the words here quoted, has printed in the *New York Evening Post* (July 28, 1894) a private letter which he received from him.

In the first place, this college-bred tom-fool reviles Mr. Debs in his private letter in language too vile to be here printed; but that is a thing of no account to Mr. Debs, who, I guess, could find out the name of his reviler by looking at or near the top of the list of officers of the General Managers' Association.

Then the tom-fool blurts out confidentially, for the private information of his friend "X," the following words :

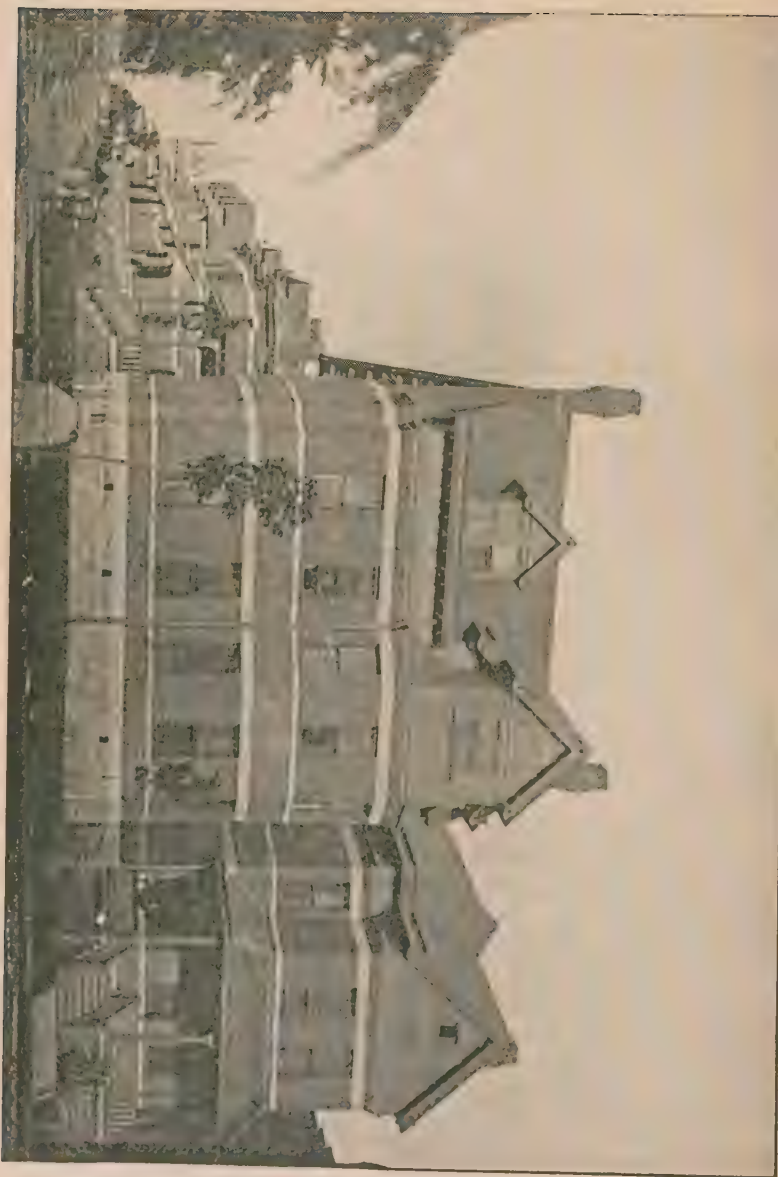
"The future to me does not now look bright. The very fact that Debs and his associates should dare to attempt a scheme of such magnitude leads me to believe that that class of men are getting closer to the control of legislation ; and *that is to me the significant part of this strike. They will now turn to the ballot, and, if combined, their strength will be dangerous.* The Populist, or Socialistic party, are growing stronger, and the labor element are trying to ally themselves with it. *What will come of it I don't know,* but it looks dark for sound government."

Just so, brethren ! But, O why did the purblind "X" ever print this private letter of the tom-fool ? Why did he give us this all-important glimpse into the enemy's camp ? Why let us know what it is that men of his kind dread the most of all ? He has given the plutocracy away, and it seems to me that the General Managers ought to hustle him out of his' office, for fear he writes another private letter to "X." But he need not write any more, for he has already told all that is worth

knowing. The thing that terrorizes the enemy is that labor may "*turn to the ballot!*" "If this class of men combine," he says, "their strength will be dangerous!" Already, as he tells us, "they are getting closer to the control of legislation!" and that, he continues, "is to me the *significant part of this strike!*" I tell you, O Tom Fool! that you were right when you privately wrote these words for the personal information of your friend. You were all wrong in saying that when labor turns to the ballot its "strength will be dangerous." It will not be dangerous to any good thing, not to the common welfare or the public peace, not to the rights of man or the interests of labor, not to the Constitution as truly interpreted, or to the Government when justly administered. It will avert the dangers now overshadowing the country, which are the creation of capitalism. It will bind the destroyers who are subverting Americanism, the Money-Power which is devouring our land.

"Turning to the ballot" is the American way of settling all questions in which the people are interested. It is the way which has been in vogue for over a hundred years. If it be "dangerous," we ought to adopt another kind of government;—we might perpetuate the dictatorial powers of Cleveland, or give Schofield the big army which he wants, or keep the Republican and

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Democratic parties in office, or accept the king which all the royal houses of Europe are ready to give us, or—better still—we might give the plutocracy a warranty under which it could rule the country without incurring the dangers that lie in the ballot.

I know very well that the plutocrats would like to put an end to universal suffrage, which would certainly be dangerous to them if the disinherited masses used it in their own interest. I know that certain college professors, newspaper editors, corporation attorneys, and other "American Tories," have already come out with schemes or suggestions for the restriction of the suffrage, but the times are not yet fully ripe for that. They will ripen before this century closes, if there be not a change in the spirit of the masses, if the workingmen of the cities do not follow the example set them by the freedom-loving farmers of the advancing West.

Here, now, again, I ask the question which was asked at the opening of this chapter: Why did Mr. Tom Fool's friend let out the awful private secret that the Money-Power fears above all else that "labor will turn to the ballot?"

CHAPTER XXI.

AN "OLD FAD" OF MINE—THE UNION OF FORCES.



WOULD like to see some approach to unity of purpose and action among all those American bodies and forces in which there is any realization of the evils that have arisen in our country, or of its unhappy prospects under the ever-strengthening rule of capitalism. Surely, they might all join in the acceptance of a few broad principles; surely, they might all co-operate in the carrying out of some important practical aim; surely, when capitalism presents a solid front, regardless of its factions, labor ought to be able at times to do the same thing; surely, when Democrats and Republicans can combine—as they have recently combined upon several occasions in Congress, notably in their joint approval of Cleveland's policy for the repression and slaughter of labor—it ought to be possible to get the men of the other side to agree upon something.

I know I am using language here that will arouse animosity in several quarters, and that will cause me to be misunderstood; but I cannot help that. I have stood for twenty years—and nearly

always solitary—as an upholder of the policy here spoken of. Those of the readers of this book who were acquainted with the paper which I got out weekly for the space of four years, must have become familiar with the phrase printed in it often enough, the “Union of the Forces.” I strove to the top of my bent for such an union. Through the carrying out of this union policy occasionally by diverse factions in New York, at the time when I busied myself with practical questions of interest to labor there, several things were gained, the loss of which would certainly have been incalculably disadvantageous to labor. If, for example, the disfranchisement scheme of Simon Stern had not been thwarted when he was sure of its adoption, or if labor had not brought about its defeat, a good many of the workingmen of New York who still possess the right of voting would now be deprived of it and would have been deprived of it ten years ago. Yet some of the very men whom Stern strove to disfranchise refused to act with the opponents of his scheme because these opponents would not accept every plank of their platform. Was not this a short-sighted business? I could mention plenty of other cases of like kind, in which good ends were subserved or bad projects thwarted through a more or less satisfactory “union of forces.” I am quite familiar with the arguments of the men

who say that all this is mere patchwork, that the lightening of labor's burdens tends to make labor satisfied with less than its due, and that the adoption of any means of relief retards the advent of the perfect industrial system. These notions do not correspond with my observation, or experience, or readings in history. I say that every step onward increases the desire to reach the goal, that the lightening of any burden makes easier the advance of the burden-bearer, and that the cure of any bad symptom of a malady promotes the restoration of the sufferer's health. If you are ill with an organic disease you will yet dress a cut on your finger ; if you are starving to death you will be glad of a crust without waiting for a banquet ; if you are crushed to the earth you will be grateful for a slight comfort while there ; if you are fainting with thirst on the highway a cup of water will be acceptable until you can reach the spring. Shall I be prevented from giving the hungry man a loaf, or the wounded man a bit of court-plaster, or from relieving the overburdened, or from helping another to gain any one of his rights, or from trying to remove any grievance of others, because the parties thus assisted may grow the less anxious for the establishment of the social harmonies ? It cannot be. We shall strive for the best with all the more vim as we get rid of the worst. We shall aspire the higher the

farther we rise above the gutter. We win our knowledge item by item and our money cent by cent. We advance through time step by step, under the law of evolution.

Heaven knows that I would like to see the perfect social and industrial order set up at once, if it would stay up long enough to transmogrify the grim millions of whom we are a part. I should like to hear that the millennium could be made to dawn to-morrow, if we were all changed so that we could abide it. I fear, however, that the bad men and the fools—who are not few in number—would raise a rumpus soon after daybreak.

Yet I say that we do need an ideal, and must struggle all the time to realize it ;—we should try to find a complete body of logical principles, and then had better labor to carry them out. But for all that and meanwhile, we shall do as well as we can under the circumstances in which we live. Give us the earthly paradise as soon as possible, and let us try to hasten its approach ! So long as we have to wait for it let us aim to prepare the way for it. This is a rough world, and there are lots of crooked places, and weeds, and bogs, and wild beasts, and arid lands in it. We want—certainly, we want—a scientific system of operations. I am in favor of that at once.

There are about a half-dozen separate parties on this side of the fence, which hold aloof from each

other, and some of which occasionally scowl at each other. Yet, as a matter of fact, I know that they all agree largely as to the desirability of certain fundamental and attainable objects. I have addressed meetings of farmers' organizations, and trade-unionists, and Populists, and single-taxers, and Socialists, and Nationalists, and Coxeyites ; and in every one of them I have found a ready response to certain axiomatic propositions respecting the rights of man and the rights of labor. I have found a response not less ready to remarks along the line of practical ways and means of action. I have found that they were all as one in their views of the wrongfulness, viciousness, falsity, and cruelty of the existing state of things. I have found that the intent of all of them was essentially the same, and that it was good. I desire the reader to understand that I did not in any case mince my words ; that I spoke my own mind freely in every case, and that I often differed with my hearers upon special questions in which they were more particularly interested. Yet every time, so far as I can remember, the result was as here given.

Now, it seems to me that in these facts there is a suggestion, not perhaps toward a union of all the parties concerned, but at least toward their co-operation at times for the accomplishment of purposes of which all approve. There are oppor-

tunities for this kind of practical co-operation every year, and I have not any doubt that, if it were adopted in a few cases, the advantages of it would be obvious to all reasonable minds, and the success of it would soon be placed beyond dispute.

I am aware of the obstacles in the way. I have had occasion to learn all about them. But I know, from some things which have happened, that they are not insurmountable.

The tides run high in these times, and the separate waves must disappear in the general surge.

There is no doubt that, by reason of the nature of the two gigantic labor strikes of the current year, and by reason of the nature of the means that the two gigantic combinations of capitalists took to crush them, the working people of the country were led to think as they had never thought before. They saw, as never at any previous time, the power that private capital could wield and the public powers that it could control. They saw all the agencies of the Federal and State governments put at the service of the railroad and coal corporations, and all of them had been turned against labor. Troops and judges had rendered service in other disputes of the kind, but never in the same fashion, or to a like extent, or as noisily.

Now, these agencies were those of the "Government." What is the "Government?" It is a political machine; it is a thing created by the community; it is sustained by the voters at large; it is the agent of the people. It can, at least in theory, be taken possession of by a majority of the citizens and used in defence of labor. Why, then, should the majority of the citizens, the producers of the country, permit it to be used to their detriment? Only through political means can it be taken possession of. This is politics. In politics there is safety as well as danger. By political action we can do away with such shameful spectacles as have been seen over half the country—seen in the gigantic strikes of the railroaders and the miners.

Thus the thought of labor has been quickened, and thus, for the first time, millions of previously heedless working people have begun to think. The result of this thought has become visible from Boston to San Francisco. It has been seen in the new policy adopted or proposed by a thousand trade and labor organizations. "Labor politics" is the main theme of debate in them. Even the old fogies have seen a new light. The men who always heretofore have cried out to "steer clear of politics" are steering the other way. The transformation has been sudden and sweeping.

It is the most hopeful thing that has been seen since the Money-Power obtained complete as-



J. W. HAYES

Grand Secretary-Treasurer, Knights of Labor

cendency in politics. It means, in case labor shall stand true to itself, that the days of that monstrosity are numbered. Whether labor will thus stand, we must wait to learn.

If much is to be gained by labor, or even if the adversary is to be checked in his mad career, its forces must be joined with those of the men who feed us all, and about whom I shall speak in the next chapter.

I have said in this book that I can offer no quick-working remedy for labor's troubles; but I am happy to see that, at last, labor itself is beginning to apprehend the cause of them. That apprehension will very surely lead to the discovery of a method of dealing with them.



CHAPTER XXII.

"THE EMBATTLED FARMERS."



IN these critical years for the Republic I look toward our American FARMERS with supreme hope. We cannot do anything in the United States without the help of the five millions of farmers. In every great movement in American history the farmers have stood in the van. In the Revolutionary War they bore the brunt of the conflict. How majestic is Emerson's couplet in the poem commemorative of the stand they made at Concord as defenders of liberty, even before the Declaration of Independence:

"Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard 'round the world."

In the "War for the Union," also, during Lincoln's Presidency, it was our farmers who formed the backbone of the armies of liberation. In our own time, once again, it is the advanced farmers, more especially those of the Western States, who have risen up against the new despotism of the Money-Power, who have formed great organizations to check its ravages, and who polled nearly the whole of the 1,000,000 votes that were cast for

the Populist party in the Presidential election of 1892. Those people who speak of our farmers as "stumbling blocks in the path of progress," ought to take the trouble to acquire the information that all through our history the farmers have "cleared the way for liberty," and have been among its foremost champions.

In recent years the political ideas of the farmers of the West have been away ahead of those of the battered masses of the wage-workers in our cities. They have acted with more independence than the denizens of cities; they have displayed a clearer judgment; they have been far less subservient to the old party hacks who domineer over the cities; they have not been afraid to elect Governors and Legislatures which represent them; they have not shrunk from seeking redress for their wrongs through the ballot-box and the established agencies of the State; they have not feared to take the field against their incorporated enemies. In two of the States in which I once lived—South Carolina and Kansas—the farmers to-day wield the authority, and wield it to their own advantage, in so far as circumstances will permit; and these two great States are not the only ones in which the power of the "embattled farmers" has made itself known. The farmers of many parts of the West and South would laugh at the jabber with which the plutocratic

press of our cities try to deceive the wage-earners. The growth of their intelligence has kept pace with that of their pluck. Very few of them are as radical as I wish all of them were ; but certainly it is not for me, living under the rule of as foul a set of "bosses" as ever defiled this earth, to find fault with them on that account. The main thing is that they are on the right course, and if we of the cities ever catch up with them, woe-betide the plunderers who hold our country in their grip !

I know of whom I am speaking when I speak of the Western farmers,—honor to them ! I "broke ground" beyond the Missouri when yet the only robbers there were the stage-robbers !

We of the cities must clasp hands with the men of the fields in the new campaign for human rights and for freedom. The farmers of the country, as well as other people, suffer under the rapacity of the Money-Power. They are plundered by the insatiate corporations, by the men who speculate in their products, by the Trusts, and by more sharpers than I can tell of. If we of the cities stand in need of their aid, not the less do they stand in need of our aid.

Let us all, therefore, join in a brotherhood of good faith for the defence of our country.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHRISTIANITY—THE PRESS—THE STRUGGLE.



SUPPOSE that, when Herod was King of Judea, there had been as many daily papers in the city of Jerusalem as there are now in the city of New York, and that the Jerusalem papers were of the same kind as are the New York papers—can anybody believe that any one of them all would have taken the side of the Nazarene? Why, this man had stirred up the people; had been charged with sedition; had propounded strange doctrines; had been accused of subverting the law; had brought upon himself the execration of the rulers, the priests, the lawyers, and the orthodox Pharisees; had befriended the poor; had spoken unpleasantly about the rich; had formed a union of twelve members for some unknown purpose, and had said and done many things which were regarded as offensive by the whole of the respectable community which despised him. Would not the Satanic papers of Jerusalem have railed against him, and cried out with one voice, "Away with him?" The shrewd New York papers of our times have pecuniary reasons for not keeping up that cry in this particular case.

Suppose that, in the reign of Herod, Jerusalem had had plenty of daily papers like those of New York, would not they, when this Nazarene was brought up for trial before Pontius Pilate, under accusations of contempt of court and of disobeying the injunction, and when the chief priests took sides against him, and when Judas had hanged himself after giving the thirty pieces of silver to the priests, and when Pilate had asked that test question about Barabbas, does any one doubt that all the Jerusalem papers would with one accord have said, "Give us Barabbas?" "Now, Barabbas was a robber." Would they not have mocked the Nazarene, and spit upon him, and smitten him, and urged that he should be taken unto a place called Golgotha, or The Skull, and offered him a drink of vinegar mingled with gall, and cried aloud, "Crucify him!" and wagged their heads as they cast lots for his garments, and joined the two thieves in taunting him?

I am not here, my friendly reader, indulging in any unfair animadversion, and I could not write in an irreverent spirit, for I adore the name of the Nazarene. I am but asking you to suppose, seriously, what would have been the course of the Jerusalem papers in the twenty-sixth year of the Christian era if there had then been papers there like those of the plutocracy of this time?

As for the "religious press" of Jerusalem in the first year of the 194th Olympiad, we can guess what they would have said at the time of the crucifixion by reading those of them that are printed Anno Domini 1894.

Sad am I that it is necessary for me to speak thus.



CHAPTER XXIV.

HOW THE WEATHERCOCKS CHANGE FRONT.



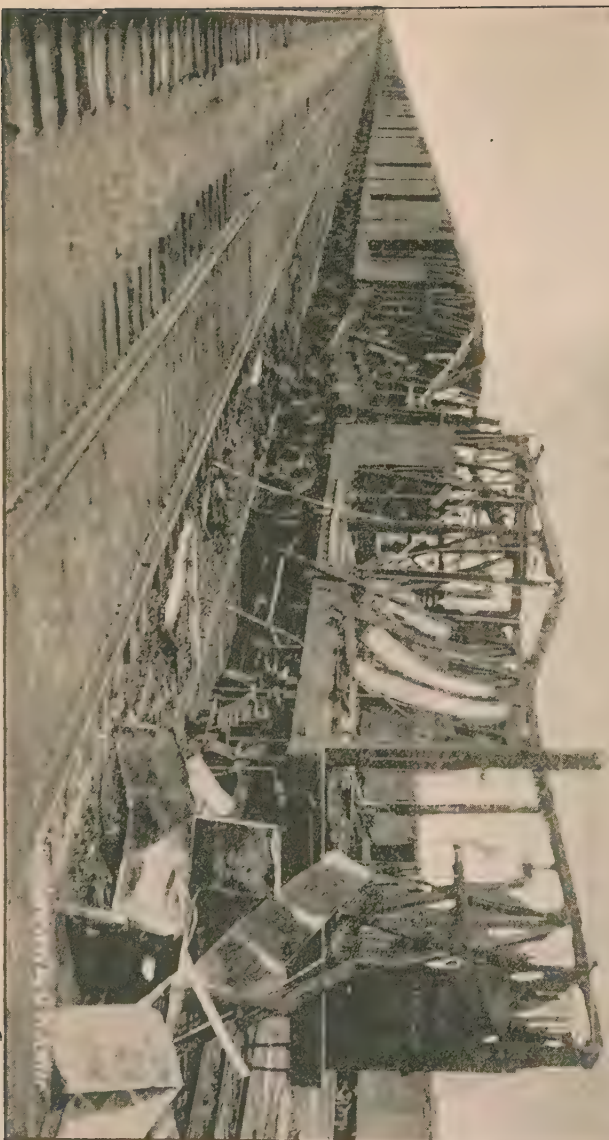
HERE are certain formidable-looking champions of the Money-Power upon whom it cannot depend forever.

When it becomes evident that the day of the triumph of the people is approaching, these champions will change their attitude, you can bet. They support the side of the devil because he carries the money-bags, but if these give out they will support any other side that comes uppermost.

I refer to the politicians, the judicial and legal time-servers, the ravenous editors, the capitalist pulpiteers, the major-generals, and all the mob of the camp-followers of plutocracy.

What a scurrying of these chaps there will be after a while, when labor gets on top. The politicians will set the eagle a-screaming, as they swear that they were always the humble servants of labor. The big-wigs of the bench will issue "Gatling-gun" injunctions against capitalism till they are tired. The roarers at the bar will roar for the eternal rights of glorious labor. The venal editors will devote whole pages of big

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type every day to the noble cause of the consecrated workingman. The preachers will deliver labor sermons, based upon texts of Scripture, showing that all the prophets, from Moses to Malachi, were on the poor man's side (who, however, will not then be as poor as he is now). The major and brigadier-generals will wear a shovel on one side of their cocked-hats. Every Congressman and Senator will draw up a pile of bills daily for the better promotion of the interests of the oppressed wage-worker and the rest of the groundlings, including the weary farmers. The gangs of camp-followers will carry labor flags behind brass bands, and offer to do it for a dollar a day without cheating.

When the morning of the age of labor dawns, or when there are signs in the sky that its dawn is approaching, or when the augurs (who are said to wink at each other) foretell how things must inevitably go, there will be doleful times in the dismal swamp of the Money-Power. I shall then expect to be asked to run for Congress in a hundred districts, or to edit any number of the daily papers, or to accept a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court, or to take Grosscup's place, or to preach in all the pulpits, orthodox and heterodox, or to be chief of police, or to wear a cocked-hat as the senior major-general of the army, or even to embrace a pension. I may as well tell

my future admirers in advance that I won't take any job whatever—though, perhaps, I had better draw that back, as I would rather like to be the editor of half a dozen first-class daily papers in the six biggest cities in the country.

What is the reason for imagining the possibility of any such humorous change as I have spoken of? As the Romans used to say, "Look around," and the reason will stare you in the eye.

The mercenaries of the bench and of politics, and of the other branches of business, stand on the capitalist side *because it is the strong side*. Let the other side become the strongest, and they will soon stand there.

I am not too rough on them. I would not treat them unfairly, and I know lots of them. They are not all knaves either. I hope that some of them are a great deal better than I am, if I know myself.

In the opinion given above I am borne out by the history of all time. Look how politicians, judges, and others changed their ground in Europe after the success of Christianity, and in Germany after the ascendancy of Luther, and in England after Cromwell became Lord Protector, and in the United States after our independence, and in France after the success of the Revolution, or time and again afterwards as power was gained

by Napoleon, or Louis XVIII, or Charles X, or Louis Philippe, or the second republic, or the nephew of his uncle, or the third republic. In all these cases, and in others beyond number, the politicians and their dependents shifted about like weathercocks, and went the way the wind blew.

Don't you suppose we would see the very same thing in the United States if power were lost by capital and won by labor?

I do not say that all the weathercocks are conscienceless or dishonorable. They merely turn about with the wind, and face that point of the compass toward which they are blown.

What labor needs, therefore, to turn all the weathercocks toward it with a look of surprise and a smile on their beak, is *power*—is to use the power which it possesses.

Many of them will do good enough work after they see the new light.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE BLACK FLAG OF RUIN—THE STAR OF HOPE.



WHILE the black flag has been raised over the bulwarks of the Money-Power of our country, there is a star of hope in the camp of labor. Labor is thinking, or rather let me say, the people are thinking. Labor is looking over the enemy's bulwarks. It is taking note of his equipments. It is observing his movements on the right and left flanks, at the rear, and in front. It is measuring the field. It is rallying its members. It is winning recruits. It is estimating its resources. It is getting new ideas. It is gaining courage. It is not thrown into a panic any longer by the sight of the black flag. It is coming to understand that it has but to use its own forces skilfully, and with all its might, to secure success.

This is the ground of hope ; here is the morning star !

The triumph of the black flag would mean our country's ruin—the utter subjugation of the toiling masses, the wreckage of popular liberty, and the confirmation of the authority of a bloody power, which, though already strong enough, is

not yet in full command, is not unassailable, and is not sure of its footing. Furthermore, it would mean Revolution; for the American people will not forever submit to enslavement.

These statements are not overdrawn. The Money-Power has shown its purposes. It showed them during the coal miners' strike, and during the railroad strike of this year, as it had often done before. It has grown bolder as it has grown stronger. It has permitted some of the more brazen of its organs, in different parts of the country, to tell of its designs, to foreshadow its undertakings, and even to give hints of its plans. The observer who does not yet discern the signs of danger will know of their existence, if he lives long.

There cannot now be a doubt that intelligent labor has begun to see them.

The hope for the liberties of the United States lies in that fact.

Labor must trust in itself. It can put its trust nowhere else. It must move in force and unitedly and steadily. It must welcome all trusty allies. To halt is to be lost.

Labor will require time to carry the field. It may be beaten often, even while success is being won.

Its success will save the country from an enemy remorseless as death. That success can be won by the weapons of peace. It will put us in the way of life and prosperity.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A GREAT OLD AMERICAN PRINCIPLE.




THAT inspiring American song of the old days, "Vote Yourself a Farm," which cannot be sung at this time of the century, contained the germ of a great and ever-living idea—the idea that all men possess certain primitive natural rights, more especially the right to the means of life, through the use of the earth and the enjoyment of its resources. You had the right to a farm, and had the power to "vote yourself" one.

Let the principle herein implied be fully carried out, and we shall see a change. When it is brought to bear upon all the things to which it may be properly applied, the root of the whole matter is reached. What right has the plutocracy to seize the world? What right, for example, have these corporations, and other brigands of the Money-Power, to grab the whole coal-bearing area of the country?

CHAPTER XXVII.

PULLMANISM.

T has been told over and again in this book that the great uprising of the American Railway Union was against Pullmanism, which is a more complete method of skinning the working people than any other yet invented, here or abroad. Pullman built a town as a place of abode for his employés, and he built there also a big factory, or lot of factories, in which "palace cars" for the railroads, besides other things, were constructed; and he had anywhere between 3,000 and 6,000 men in his works, according to the state of trade. He devised and here carried out a most complicated and marvellous system of skinning his employés; and as, in later times, he skinned them closer than ever before, and would not listen to their protests, they struck when they could not longer endure their suffering. That was early in this year. The American Railway Union sympathized with them, and, in hope of aiding them, asked to be relieved from running the Pullman cars, which were not a necessary part of the trains, and then, after this proper request had been refused, they also struck work.

Pullman had grown enormously rich as a labor skinner ("worth," perhaps, \$25,000,000), and he displayed the most extraordinary ingenuity in skinning. That business, as conducted at the great slaughter-houses in one part of Chicago, is coarse-grained work compared with Pullman's fine and subtle work in another part of Chicago. He skinned the wages of his employés (which he cut thrice last year); he skinned their rents (which were kept high); skinned their food, water, and gas; skinned them when at work or at rest, dead or alive; skinned their time; skinned the savings of the few who had any; skinned the alphabet of the boys who went to school; skinned the blacks as well as the whites in his service; and even skinned the religion of those Pullman-ites who were able to hire a pew in the church. His skill as a skinner was vastly greater than his skill as a car-builder. I could wish there were room here to copy the elaborate account of his methods that was given at one time this year by Miss Nellie Bly, or the other account given by a writer whose initials are "E. O. C." For the sake of posterity they ought to be printed in a volume.

Pullman cared no more for the cries of his victims than the butchers of the Chicago shambles care for the cries of theirs. If the mothers and the children, as well as the fathers, were crushed,

PANHANDLE R. R. NEAR GRAND CROSSING, CHICAGO, ILL.



what was that to him? He cared no more than Havemeyer cares for the awful suffering of the wretches in his Brooklyn sugar-works, through which suffering he pockets millions every year, under the protection of Senators and Representatives who grow rich by speculating in the stock of the Sugar Refining Company. He cared no more than capital is ever in the habit of caring for labor.

Last year and this year Pullman gave as a reason for cutting the pay of his "hands" that he had to take contracts at a loss; but, meanwhile, there was no decrease in the dividends from his stock, which had been doubled within a few years by a stroke of the pen. Of course, that was not a thing of any concern to his "hands," though they had earned the dividends for him, and ought to have kept them.

Well, but why did these American workmen continue in Pullman's service under such a state of things? This question must be answered, alas! by saying that the control of labor by capital has become so complete that they could not find employment anywhere else or at anything else. Even at this time of writing (August) thousands of these industrious men are yet out of work—have been out of it for a half year—and are living upon the benevolence of the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly and the American Railway

Union. Apart, however, from the specific statement just made, the larger answer to the question here asked has, I must hope, been brought within the comprehension of every one who has understandingly read the previous chapters of this book.

Pullmanism is selfishness at its worst. It is extortion, venality, and churlishness. It is one of the most execrable manifestations of the capitalist despotism that has ever been seen.

That despotism must fall if man is to rise.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

A GLANCE ABROAD.



SHALL here speak but very briefly of a few of the countries of Europe which I visited between three and four years ago.

In Italy, more especially in the southern provinces of the kingdom, I found the working people very much stirred up over their wrongs, and it seemed to me that they were becoming imbued with a new spirit. For ages they have borne their sufferings hopelessly, but in recent years they have begun to demand some practical means of relief, and they have made the demand in a voice that has shaken the Quirinal. The measures of repression recently enforced against them have been sanguinary and crushing, but they are doomed to prove futile, and their futility is likely to be made manifest in a contingency that may arise at any time.

In Germany the workingmen's movement (Socialist) has become a power with which the government is hardly able to cope. The organized forces have become so strong and their vote so formidable as to alarm the ruling powers.

They elect members to the Reichstag, who push along with unsurpassed energy the measures of the party; they exercise an influence which is felt on all sides, and their strength is growing at a rate which justifies the most sanguine hopes. They have a clear understanding of the objects sought, and they have most accomplished and earnest leaders. The policy of suppression was brought to bear upon them for many years by the truculent Bismarck, but it was easier for him to break the spirit of Austria, and even of France, than to weaken that of the irrepressible Socialists. Their propaganda is directed with wonderful ingenuity, and the success of it is made more evident every year. Things may happen that will give them the control of Germany before the end of the nineteenth century. The German workmen wield both the strike and the boycott with telling effect. The brewery boycott of 1894 has been one of the best-managed and most successful pieces of business of that kind that was ever undertaken. Many of the organized trade-unions of Germany are models, and they work together in ways which might well serve as an example to those in the United States.

In France the labor question is always up and alive, and the Socialist groups are always at the front in the Chambers and everywhere else. All the world knows of the power and of the work

of the party there, and of the practical service it has rendered, and of the courage of its leaders, and of their determination to carry out a programme at once orderly and far-reaching. The "Solidarity of labor" is the watchword in France, as it ought to be everywhere. "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" is the motto of French workingmen, as it ought to be of those of all the world. It is only people unacquainted with the nature of the "Social Question" in great France who fail in appreciation of its grandeur. During a series of visits to that country this grandeur impressed me profoundly.

In Belgium the labor party shook the government not long ago, and gained at least some of the demands for which it strove. That the Belgian workingmen's party is well advanced may be judged from a resolution adopted by its conference at Brussels in the summer of 1894: "That wealth and the means of producing it are the patrimony of the entire human race, and must be restored to mankind collectively."

In England any stranger interested in the labor question must be filled with amazement, as I was when last there. I saw a stupendous Sunday meeting in Hyde Park, London, at which there were a half million people. I did not listen to any one of the hundred speeches delivered from a score of platforms; but I struck up acquaint-

ance with some of the members of what is called the "lowest class," who were in the multitude; and I must say that they talked to me in a way which not only opened my understanding, but thrilled my spirit and led me to believe that the changes now in progress will not end until England is socially revolutionized. That ragged old starveling on the outskirts of the Hyde Park crowd, whose Sunday breakfast, as he told me, had been a "red 'erring and a bit o' 'ard bread," talked to me in language which I wish I could here repeat, about the natural rights of mankind. There is no foolery in the programme of the British trade-unionists, one of the "planks" of which favors "the collective ownership by the people of all means of production and distribution," while another of them, of more specific character, favors the municipal ownership of all street-cars, gas-works, and electric plants, and the nationalization of railroads, mines, telegraphs, and telephones. It is evidently intended that these things and others shall be practically and quickly realized, since their realization has already been begun, as, for example, in the great city of Glasgow, all the street railroads of which came into the ownership of the municipality in July of 1894. The administrative record of the House of Commons, in 1894, was entirely for the working classes, and the chief measures were in the

interest of labor. They were of higher importance than all the labor legislation of our own Congress for the past hundred years. England is now very far ahead of us in legislation of the kind. The power of organized labor is recognized there. The government favors short hours, favors trade-unions, and has established both the Union rate of wages and the eight-hour work-day at Woolwich, at all the other manufactories under control of the War Office, in the case of the dock-yarders of the Admiralty, and in all the Admiralty departments, to the advantage of tens of thousands of workers. It is on the "labor electorate" that the existing British ministry places its main reliance for success at the next Parliamentary election.

I would be proud to say that the United States was ahead of England in all these matters, but it would be folly so to speak in view of the experiences of both countries during the past few years.

I was surprised, while in Great Britain, to learn, and in some cases to see, what several municipalities were doing for the benefit of the working people; how, for example, industrial establishments were inspected, and how the old rookeries were torn down to give place to new houses, which are rented at a very low rate. I did not find, either, that the theory of some of our Ameri-

can philosophers, that this kind of thing makes work people content to endure other removable evils, was justified. The lesser good that was done increased the desire for the greater good yet to be won.

The question of what is called a "living wage" is up in England, and certainly living wages would be better than starvation wages, even if they had to be provided through a Parliamentary enactment. The more advanced Britishers, however, propose to seek, in due time, the abolition of the existing wage-system.

There are plenty of labor strikes in England. It was a gigantic and advantageous strike in which the dock-laborers of London engaged about three years ago. It was a very great and hard-fought strike of the coal-miners last year, which was neatly settled by the man who is now Premier of England, and settled, too, not in Grover Cleveland's dogged, perverse, and murderous way.

The last official report upon English strikes which I have seen is that for the year 1892, when there were 690 of them, one-half of which were gained by the strikers, while others ended in "conciliation" or in defeat. Only about the same number of men were concerned in the whole of them as were concerned in our own great strikes in the first half of the year 1894.



JOHN P. ALTGELD
Governor of Illinois

It is hard for us to know that England is dealing more fairly with labor than is the United States, and that the independent labor party there has done what only some of us are talking about doing. It is hard for us to know that the workingmen's parties in Germany and in France are where they are, while our own party of that kind is where it is.

The reflection is unpleasant to the aspiring American who wants his country to be ahead of all other countries.

May the efforts and the successes of our brave brethren abroad stimulate us to emulate their inspiring example.



CHAPTER XXIX.

UNITE AND ADVANCE!



THE American labor agitation has quickened the common intelligence and conscience. It has given millions of people a new apprehension of their rights—and it must be remembered that the words *right* and *rights* stand for the very highest of human thoughts; that they represent the final aim of mankind, and that their establishment in the world implies the supremacy of everything that is desirable.

The labor question is now in the air and the soil to stay. It has deeply touched the general mind. It is becoming a public force. It is taking the shape of politics. It is entering into legislation. It is piercing the press. It has become a formidable menace to the all-enslaving Money-Power, and is checking the insolence of our plutocracy. It will be the salvation of our liberties. It will renew our pristine democracy. It will energize our liberal institutions. It will re-Americanize our country.

I again urge all brethren in the labor cause, as I have so often urged them in other years, to

Unite and Advance ! Unite upon solid measures, now and ever. Unite in practical work, which is the true basis for moral union.

Be true, be wise, be strong, be courageous ! Let us all and always so act as to hasten the time when the rights of man, the practice of justice, the organization of industry, and the proper order of society shall be realized in this, our American Republic.

These are years in which I quiver with hope. The seed is being sown. Our friends are sowing it, and our enemies are helping us to sow it. We can see it grow. The green sprouts are appearing. By and by the days of harvest will come. Through storm and sunshine they will come,—the glorious days of right—the days of shouting and singing and laughter—the days in which the resplendent fruitage will be garnered for mankind. Fly fast the days, and speed that time !



CHAPTER XXX.

A CHAPTER FOR CLEVELAND TO READ.



HAT aged "constitutional" lawyer, Sidney Webster, of New York, has "struck oil." He has sent a letter from Vichy, in France, to the New York *Herald* (August 5, 1894), upholding President Cleveland's course in using the regular army to suppress the strike, and presenting two precedents in his justification.

They ought to make Cleveland happy, if they do not make his blood run cold.

This Sidney Webster tells how, forty years ago, President Pierce sent a 'body of regular troops to the State of Massachusetts, when not so requested, in order to enforce the law against a mob.

A fugitive slave had found refuge in Boston;—the Federal Court ordered that he should be seized;—the Bostonians, or some of them, were unwilling that he be taken out of their city;—there was a popular uprising in his behalf;—there was a doubt whether it would be possible to execute the mandate of the learned and venerable court, and even the Marshal himself was in doubt

over that point. Then it was that President Pierce (who died 1869) sent to Boston a body of the regular army, and this body executed the law. The fugitive (Sims), as Webster says, "was carried down State street between two solid lines of Federal troops!"

The regular army had executed the Fugitive Slave Law, and had seized a fugitive slave by order of a Democratic President!

Between six and seven years after that time chattel slavery was abolished amid flame and smoke!

Again, Sidney Webster, in his letter to the New York *Herald* upholding Dictator Cleveland, tells how Cleveland's immediate Democratic predecessor in the Presidency, James Buchanan (died 1868), used the regular army in Kansas to keep the peace and crush out the Free State rioters. There were objections in Congress to his course, which, however, were answered in the way spoken of by Mr. Sidney Webster, who says:

"The reply was an elaborate report by Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War, whose abilities raised him afterward to such calamitous prominence. That report contains the best exposition that I know in print of the legal relations of the army to the President in preserving the peace and aiding in the execution of judicial process."

I suppose Cleveland must have read that "elaborate report" before he ordered the regular

army to Chicago in 1894. But no matter about that.

The regular army "fought and bled" in Kansas; but, alas! it could not suppress the Free State movement there, and Kansas was admitted into the Union as a Free State four years after Buchanan had ordered that army there and three years after the printing of that "elaborate report," which "contains the best exposition" of the legal relations of the army to the President," or, at least, the best known to Sidney Webster.

It does not seem to be lucky for Presidents to use the regular army under this exposition. That President who used to be called "Poor Pierce" thus used it, but those against whom he used it won the day, for all that. Another President (poor Buchanan) used it in Kansas, under the exposition, to his own utter discomfiture. And this year yet another President (poor Cleveland) has used it, also under the exposition, with results which will be made known hereafter.

"Poor Pierce" thought he was victorious in Massachusetts. Poor Buchanan thought he was victorious in Kansas. Poor Cleveland doubtless thinks he has been victorious in Chicago and elsewhere.

Look out, Cleveland! You will yet be beaten, sure, as your two unhappy predecessors were beaten.

It is not always true that the "mills of the gods grind slowly."

Sometimes they grind so rapidly that even Old Nick himself can't keep up with them !



CHAPTER XXXI.

POLITICS AND PURPOSES.



HERE is a wide-spread terror of the word *politics* in the ranks of labor, and I am not surprised by the fact, in view of the past.

In the larger and better sense, politics is that which deals with the interests of the body politic, with the organic affairs of the community and the country.

It deals with labor; it deals with capital; it works upon both. It deals with trade and commerce, with production and distribution, with coin and currency, with banks and clearing-houses, with the land, the mines, and the manufacturing industries, with wealth in private hands, as also when organized in trusts or syndicates; it deals with all property, real or personal, with the rights of children, with popular education, and even with the public health. Politics of the kind which Machiavelli calls "grand" touches the whole of us, at all points of our being, upon every day of our life.

Competition itself is subject to the public law, is regulated by it, and is limited by it.



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BURNED EXPLOITS AND GOAT

I tell those of our citizens who are frightened at the thought of "paternalistic politics" and a "paternal government," that they have always lived where both are forever in full bloom.

Let us have no foolery. We already enact here industrial laws, tariff or free-trade laws, land laws, corporation laws, inter-State commerce laws, arbitration laws, financial laws, laws concerning our foreign trade, imports and exports, and, in short, laws bearing upon all the practical concerns and the ordinary business of the whole community. We possess the Constitutional power to do this, and more.

All the legislation here spoken of is related to labor, though but little of it has been in the interest of labor or of the producer. Any "labor legislation" for the sake of the laborer which we have is trivial, and most of it is constantly nullified by capital and by the courts, or is neglected by those in whose behalf it was ostensibly enacted.

The working people and all the people of the country, therefore, are forever voting upon the labor question—forever electing candidates whose business it is to legislate thereupon.

Three-fourths of all the measures which pass through Congress year after year, or through the State legislatures, are measures which affect labor, directly or otherwise.

We cannot in any way escape from "labor politics."

Well, now, why does not labor look after its politics? Why does it not take the trouble to elect representatives who will represent it? Why does it perpetually vote for men who are its enemies and who show their enmity to it by their deeds when in power? Why did it ever create the Congress which has been in session through the troublous times of 1893 and 1894? Why create the Legislature of the State in which you live?

The "labor vote" can control the country, and there are plenty of trustworthy men in its ranks.

How different might have been the woful experiences of the past two years, and of previous years, if labor had asserted its political power!

As, therefore, we have and must have labor in politics, let us have the politics of labor.

It is easy enough. The suffering farmers and the wronged wage-workers constitute the vast majority of the voters, and they are empowered to execute their will through legislation and to provide for any desired change of the laws.

We can win the day; we can hold the field.

We must deal with corporate power, millionaireism, and all the plundering rings as they have dealt with us, or, better still, we must administer to them that justice which they have denied to us.

We can cut the bonds with which they have bound us. We can break their grip upon our throats. We can wrest from their hands the goods which they have stolen from us. We can release the courts from their control. We can reclaim our country. This country belongs to the whole of its people, who have a right to its possession. It must not be the prey of the awkward squad of millionaires who have got hold of it, and who run it for their own profit.

I speak with emphasis, because the signs of the times are portentous, and because, unless there be a change soon, it will not be worth while to speak hereafter.

If there be truth in the saying of Abraham Lincoln, that "this Republic cannot exist half slave and half free," there is not less truth in the saying that it cannot exist long while more than half of its capital is in the hands of a few thousand millionaires, upon whom over 60,000,000 of us are dependent.

Those who have not this year heard the news of the scheming of the plutocracy in favor of a "stronger government," and of an army able to suppress any uprising of the masses, are behind the times. Let them give heed to speeches made in Congress, to the utterances of Generals Schofield and Howard, to the diatribes printed in the New York capitalist papers, to the bullets of the

regular army, to the rant of the priests of the golden calf in their pulpits, to the policy of the associated railroad managers, to Grosscup's charge to the Federal Grand Jury in Chicago in the Debs case, to certain alarming acts of President Cleveland, and to the measures adopted to terrorize the impoverished masses of some of our Eastern cities under the hypocritical pretence of "crushing Anarchism."

I fear for American liberty,—that liberty which we prized above all other things before yet it was endangered, before yet the Goulds, Pullmans, Carnegies, Olneys, Rockefellers, Havemeyers, Vanderbilts, Astors, Stanfords, Fricks, and others of their kidney got it by the throat.

My hope is in the brave people of the yet unenslaved States of the Northwest.

I repeat that labor is in politics,—the politics of the money-bags. I would bring the money-bags under the politics of labor. I repeat that labor can win all its rights through politics, and that I know of no other way in which they can be won.

Do I desire to see a new party? I desire nothing other than that the masses of the American people—including our five million farmers—shall be led to think of the questions here put to them, and give thereto an answer worthy of themselves, worthy of their sires.

Long live the Republic!

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE GROUNDWORK OF ACTION—A FEW HINTS
THEREABOUT.

THIS is as a broad basis for thought upon the main subject of this book that I have given the chapters relative to those substantive and obvious agencies, through the operation of which certain fundamental changes have been wrought, not only in the industrial constitution of our country, but also in the attitude of organized labor and the masses toward capitalism and the monopolies.

We must acquire some understanding of the new and powerful and transforming forces which have been brought into play in the United States within our times. We may thus be brought to realize the magnitude of the work which awaits the awakened American people, and which must be done by them before they can ever enjoy a fair measure of prosperity, and before the public welfare can be solidly established. It is not possible for the masses of our country to prosper so long as the main part of its resources are seized by the insatiable rich, or so long as the currents of wealth continue to flow in the direction which they have taken within recent times.

Things cannot go along as they have been going latterly, without resulting in the degradation of the commonalty and the wreckage of all their best interests and of all the high hopes of true democracy. It is especially true in our age of the world and in the American republic, that the older state of things has passed away, and that a better state must take its place, at our own peril.

The plutocratic revolution is ever advancing. Its course must be stayed and turned, if the abyss is to be avoided.

Something more than small reforms are now necessary. Something else than legislation like that in which Congress habitually indulges is imperative. Something other than the bogus philanthropies of the plundering classes is essential to the public salvation.

The people must come by their own. They must take actual possession of those things which properly belong to them as the natural endowment of mankind, and also of the other things which properly belong to them, because by them they were brought into existence.

All this is within the range of good and orderly business. It can be done without the violation of any law of life or nature. It can be done peacefully, safely, and without long delay or extravagance. It can be done without going beyond the powers justly held by the community, and without

violating any fundamental principle of our Federal Constitution—a document, by the way, which has been wrested from its true uses in order to subserve the interests of the public enemy.

The primal resources and forces of nature, the fundamental agencies of production and transportation, the apparatus of finance and exchange, the corporate franchises granted by the State—all ought to be the possession of the community in mass, not the means of private aggrandizement.

Such possession would not interfere with the free and full play of any of the worthy powers of man. It would promote the development of all that is valuable in the country. It would establish the general welfare upon a sure and strong foundation.

Toward something of this kind the American people must look, or else they may as well look for a descent from bad to worse.

Let the reader remember that this volume is not designed to be an argumentative treatise upon the questions here broached. The purpose of its author is merely to try to stir up an interest in them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OUR GLORIOUS COUNTRY—OUR HERITAGE OF
FREEDOM AND WEALTH.

WE were folly to descant overmuch here upon a theme with which every American has been familiar since his boyhood, and with which every foreign-born citizen was familiarized as soon as he set foot upon American soil—our glorious heritage of Liberty and Wealth!

The most precious of all the treasures of the world—Liberty!—was ours. We exulted in the possession of it.

The richest resources of the earth were ours, and we boasted of the ownership of them.

We chanted the praises of our beautiful land, and our emotions were stirred as we beheld the flag of its majesty fluttering in the sunshine.

We boasted of our fertile soil, our mines of all the useful minerals and metals, our natural wealth of every kind, our forests, our water-courses, and our vast sweep of territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

We boasted of our flush crops of grain, and cotton, and fruits, and unnumbered other products



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for the service of mankind, our cattle on a thousand hills, our fisheries, and our bounteous supply of everything needed for use, or luxury, or ornament, or pleasure.

We were proud beyond words of our resplendent country.

We boasted of our Constitution, of our republican government, and of the franchises which belonged by right to every citizen.

We boasted of our eagle.

We boasted of our sires.

We boasted of our future.

We gazed along the lines of the ages, and saw our country growing ever freer, and richer, and stronger, and happier,—ever yet more and more the wonder of the world. How enchanting the vista!

We invited all men to come and partake of the feast of fat things. Welcome to the down-trodden and oppressed of other lands.

We boasted of our safety from all foes, and felt that domestic peace was ever assured.

We boasted of our politics, and proudly proclaimed that every American was a sovereign!

Where in all the world was there ever a match for our country—great, prosperous, brave, and free—ay, free? Its name, America!

Reader, that country is yet here, and it bears its old name!

Its flag is there.

Its Constitution is over us.

It is beautiful as ever.

It yet possesses the richest resources of the earth—far more of them than it was known to possess a generation ago.

Its fertile soil is fertile as ever. Its natural wealth of every kind is yet boundless. Its mines of all the useful minerals and metals are yet awaiting their full development. The sun shines as erst it shone over our vast stretch of territory, laved by the two great oceans of the world, laved by the gleaming lakes of the North. The flowers bloom everywhere. Our crops of grain, and cotton, and sugar, and fruits, and all other things grow greater year by year. Our fisheries are alive with the choicest of food. Our water-courses are yet full.

The eagle is perched aloft!

Our sires loom up the more impressively the farther we recede from them.

Our means, our products, our commerce, our trade, and our population are greater than they were at any time in the past.

The great Statue of Liberty towers grandly in the picturesque harbor of New York.

But, hark! What sounds are these that echo o'er the land and smite the skies?

But, look ! What sights are these that we behold on every hand ?

Do we hear cries of distress from a million idle people ? The wail of hunger from men, women, and children ? The groans of anguish from the multitudes who suffer in many a great city ?

Do we see hordes of men, mingled with women, looking for work by which they may earn their daily bread ?

Does strife rage between the workers and the capitalists ?

Do we hear the tramp of a hundred thousand soldiers, bearing guns, with which they are ready to shoot their own countrymen ? Do we hear Grover Cleveland ordering his Generals to whet their swords for blood ?

Do we see dread spectacles of human degradation all over the coal area of our country ?

Have we seen a half million workers on the strike in a single month of the year 1894 ?

Did not the reader feel that our country was "shooting Niagara" while he read the daily reports in the newspapers of June and July ?

Who can tell the weird and ghastly story of the last quarter of the nineteenth century ?

And is this the proud country into which Grover Cleveland was born fifty-seven years ago ?

Meanwhile, what can have happened? Have the robbers got into our country, plundered its fields, seized its resources, enslaved its toilers, shattered its grand Constitution, and made its very Liberties the tool of their damnable lusts?

If so, out with them!

Out with them all!

Out with the piratical crew!



ADDENDA.

THE RAILWAY STRIKE OF 1894.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS, PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR.

On Decoration Day, May 30, 1894, Judge Grosscup, of the United States Court, in his oration commemorative of the day, took occasion to say: "The growth of labor organizations must be checked by law." Yet when the sounds of his voice had not yet died away, we saw the greatest and most extensive labor struggle that had ever taken place among the wage-workers of America, and possibly of the world.

Thousands of miles of railroad, in all directions, were at a stand-still, and nearly a hundred thousand workmen in voluntary idleness, to secure what they regarded as justice to their fellow-workmen. It has been questioned whether the boycott or strike was wise, or whether justifiable? As to the first question, there may be difference of opinion. It may be doubted whether it was wise for an organization like the American Railway Union, within a year of its formation, to inaugurate a movement which, in its inception, of necessity, assumed gigantic proportions.

The wisdom or policy of entering into the movement, apart from or against the advice of the older railroad and *bona fide* labor organizations of the country, is open to serious question. Nor will I attempt, from the usual stand-point of trade disputes, to justify the strike. Sufficient for me are the facts which provoked it; but that the railroad men deliberately entered a contest which entailed many sacrifices and dangers in an attempt to redress grievances not of their own but of other workmen, who, by an insidious system of deceit, had become enervated, enslaved, and impoverished, who were without organization, and who, in sheer desperation, threw down their work, and unmasked to the world's wondrous gaze the second of the twin of modern Pecksniffs, George M. Pullman, is indeed to their credit. The first of the twins, Andrew Carnegie, was regarded as the typical "Captain of Industry," the paragon of business probity, the *Non Plus Ultra* of political devotion to our "Triumphant Democracy," even when he reduced his workmen at Homestead to a condition of poverty and misery. To-day he stands before the world convicted of defrauding the Government he pretended to worship, the people whom he led to believe he trusted.

A little more than twenty years ago George M. Pullman conceived the idea of starting, in connection with his car shops, a town, one that should bear his name and give posterity a monument of his enterprise and of his success. He built houses for his employés to live in, stores in which to make their purchases, and churches in which to do their praying. They were told that their interests and Pullman's were one and the same; that what would bring him the greater prosperity would redound to their advantage. They were warned that to belong

to a trade-union would be inimical to their *joint* enterprise; and hence any who formed a union among them was to be discharged—regarded as a common enemy, and driven out of town. His people were to depend upon his generosity and foresight in all things. To paraphrase a stanza of a well-known poem, they were much like the men at Balaklava:

Pullman to front of them,
 Pullman to rear of them;
 Bulldozed and plundered.
 Theirs not to ask why?
 Theirs but to work and die,
 Too long thus they slumbered.

The result was that the workers at Pullman were huddled together in the (exteriorly) neat houses, for which they were required to pay higher rents than are paid for similar accommodations in Chicago. They were reduced in wages as often as the seasons would recur, or as opportunities arose or were made. This was carried on until February, 1894, when a reduction in wages was offered, varying from twenty-five to thirty-three and a third, and, in a few instances, fifty per cent.

Here are a few figures which may be taken as a fair criterion of the extent of the reduction in wages:

	Price per piece 1893.	Price offered 1894.
Making trolley roofs,	\$2 25	\$1 40
Framework car seat,	1 25	79
Cutting carpets,	3 00	1 50
Making mattresses double,	25	15
Cutting Brussels carpet,	2 50	1 10
Blacksmith work, platform,	4 00	2 65
Truck setting,	45	16
Sleeping car bodies,	180 00	115 50

Driven to desperation by this latest attempt of Pullman to force the men, women, and children further down in the social scale a meeting was held. Who called it no one knows; how it came about not a vestige of evidence is at hand. It was held, and a committee appointed to wait upon Pullman, or a representative of the company, to show that it was impossible to live on the wages offered; that a middle ground should be sought; that, if wages were to be reduced, rents also should come down.

Instead of the request of the men being considered by Pullman, the committee was summarily dismissed, and discharged from work. Is it surprising that these men, in their rude awakening, saw the true character of this modern "philanthropist," who had led them to depend entirely upon him, and had deceived them into the belief that self-reliance and organization for common protection was their greatest enemy? When they respectfully asked for a hearing and for a consideration of their grievances, they found themselves insulted, their spokesmen blacklisted, and though without an organization to protect or defend them, without any proper means of laying their grievances before organized labor, they struck work, declaring that they might as well remain idle and starve as to work while slowly starving.

When the organized labor of Chicago became aware of the commotion at Pullman, it did not stand aloof because Pullman's employés had refused to organize. It was readily understood that these men had been misled by the false promises and the covert threats of Pullman's "Pantata." Relief committees were at once formed, and it is said that the average workman of that philanthropist-ridden town fared better after they left work to fraternize



PANHANDLE R. R. AT 39TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL

with their fellow-workmen than they had fared for years while working.

It was during this time, when committees of the Pullman strikers were making visits to organizations, that the first convention of the American Railway Union was held in Chicago, and received from the Pullman strikers an appeal for financial and moral assistance. A committee from the convention was appointed to wait upon the Pullman Company, with the request that the matter in dispute be submitted to arbitration. The committee was told there was "nothing to arbitrate," and that the company refused to discuss the matter. Humiliated by the manner their disinterested efforts at restoring amicable relations between Pullman and his former employ  s was received, the committee made its report. The convention reflected the feeling of the committee, and though at first sullen, silent, and indignant, resolved, amid wild enthusiasm, that unless the Pullman Company either adjusted the matter in controversy or submitted it to arbitration, the members of the American Railway Union would refuse to handle Pullman cars, and would ask all workmen to support them in this course. As the railroads gave no heed to the request, resolution, or threat (call it what you will), the great boycott (strike) was on.

I can scarcely bring myself to the belief that the convention imagined that the movement would become as extended as it became, or would last as long as it did. Be that as it may, there soon grew from it one of the greatest of labor struggles.

Now arises again the question, Was the strike wise or justifiable? The answer must depend upon the character or position of the party giving it. As to the wisdom,

time alone can tell. "Nothing succeeds so well as success" in all efforts of life. But as to its justification, what of that? From the stand-point of the employer, no! From the stand-point of a labor organization having an inviolable agreement with an employer, no! From the stand-point of the American Railway Union, having no agreement with the railroad companies, and expressing the inarticulate protest of the masses against wrongs inflicted upon any of their brothers, and their yearning for justice to all mankind, yes! a thousand times, yes!

It is something not yet fully understood how organized labor stands as the pioneer of all the hopes of the masses for justice and humane conditions, for a nobler manhood resultant from equality of opportunities. It is a consequence that organized labor frequently feels called upon to espouse the cause of those who have neglected their own interests or have even antagonized an effort to bring them within the fold of organization. Labor men feel and know that the wealth producers would certainly avail themselves of their only means of advancing their position in life were it not that they have their prejudices aroused, or fail to perceive actual conditions, or are misled by the corporate and employing class.

The railroaders were on strike; the police, armed to the teeth, were on guard to protect life and property; the militia were called out, ostensibly for the same purpose; the regular army of the United States was marshaled to the field, by order of the President, to enforce injunctions restraining "everybody" from even writing a letter, injunctions issued by the judge who, but a few days before, had expressed the conviction that the growth of labor organizations must be checked by law.

Is it not somewhat strange that the provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Act, passed by Congress in compliance with the popular demand for protection against the greed and outrageous discriminations of the railroads, could be distorted to such a degree as to appall its authors and be perverted from its true purpose to do service as an oppressor of parties to whom it was never intended to apply—workingmen engaged in a contest to redress grievances?

One may look almost in vain for the restraint the law has put upon the avarice and injustice practiced by the railroad corporations. The reform elements in our country seem to have unconsciously created their own Frankenstein, the breath of life being injected into it by plutocracy.

There is no desire or even a tendency on the part of organized labor to have its movement go beyond the limits of law; but I submit that this great labor problem should be considered apart from a sycophantic judge's injunction, a policeman's club, or the point of a bayonet. The fact is that industrial conditions have changed to a wonderful extent within the past thirty years, that wealth has been accumulated as never before, that new forces are at play in the production and transportation of wealth, and that the civil law of our States and country has not been brought into conformity with the new conditions.

Do what you will or declaim as you may, industrial and commercial development cannot be confined within the limits of laws enacted to fit past ages.

Civilization is based upon labor, and yet the laborer has no standing or protection in the economy of our life. It may well be asked, If the State ignores justice and pro-

tection to labor, what interest has labor in the State? As a matter of fact, the organizations of labor are endeavoring to secure for labor that protection which the State has failed to take cognizance of. Without organization, the workmen must yet be reduced to a worse condition than that of the slaves in ante bellum days. All attempts to strain the law, construing the exercise of natural rights to be criminal, will only react upon the heads of the legal prestidigitators.

If, in monarchical England, with its *effete* traditions and crusty customs, the Parliament can afford to liberalize laws and to legalize the action of workingmen engaged in the maintenance of their organizations and in efforts to obtain better conditions, certainly the American Republic should not only keep pace with that spirit, but advance beyond it, instead of bringing the military and civil forces to aid the strong and crush out the weak.

Labor cannot, and would not if it could, adopt the Havemeyer process of securing legislation; it relies upon the justice of its cause, the nobility of its purposes, the humanizing influences of its efforts.

Pullman, it is said, is willing to spend millions of dollars, if necessary, to bring his former employés "to their senses." This man, who compels the public to pay, in the shape of tips, the wages of his employés on the Pullman cars, who forces his workmen down to the very lowest stage of human misery, is willing to spend millions to bring his workmen to a sense of their dependence upon him. This is evidently his purpose. It is the purpose of many another corporation king. He and others may possibly win for a time, but the people of America, when once aroused to a sense of the wrong inflicted upon them, will so shape our laws and in-

dustrial conditions as to surprise the most supercilious critics.

We insist upon the right to organize, the right to think, to act, to protect ourselves, our homes, and our liberties, and work out our emancipation. We are confident we shall secure them, and that the world will stand surprised that they were accomplished through an enlightened public opinion and by peaceful means.



THE STRIKE AND ITS LESSONS.

BY SAMUEL GOMPERS.

The strike of the American Railway Union to influence Pullman to submit to arbitration the controversy between him and his employés will long live in the memory of man as one of the greatest labor struggles in the history of the country. It is true that the struggle was not crowned with the immediate success of the objects sought to be achieved, yet it so thrilled the hearts of the people, and riveted their attention, that its lessons and benefits will be wide-spread, deep, and lasting. Like many of its predecessors, as we have said, it failed of its immediate object, but it has accomplished more good in directing attention to the underlying wrongs of modern society than all the lectures and publications could secure in a decade. It has made the foolish as well as the wise stop and think and ask, "Whither are we drifting?"

Out of all this tumult it revealed to the world the character of one of its noblest sons, Eugene V. Debs. His earnestness, honesty, and sincerity no man on this continent doubts. No one has a shadow of an excuse for doubting him, and it is but right to accord him this faint measure of justice.

On Monday, July 9, 1894, a telegram was received by the President of the American Federation of Labor insisting that it was his duty to be in Chicago, the "storm

centre" of the railroad strike. The President summoned the Executive Council to meet at Chicago on Thursday, the 12th, and invited the executive officers of a number of the National and International Trade Unions of America, and the Brotherhoods and Orders of railroad men to meet with them. It was indeed gratifying that nearly all responded, either being themselves in attendance or sending accredited representatives.

When the Executive Council and the Conference met in Chicago, President Debs was invited to address the conference and explain what he advised the labor organizations of America to do to aid him in his struggle. He accepted the invitation, and in his address made a calm but eloquent statement. Every delegate present expressed his hearty sympathy with Mr. Debs and the strike, and nearly all were anxious to aid in his movement if it could be done in the best interests of the toiling masses of America.

Mr. Debs read a proposition that he desired President Gompers to submit to the Railroad Managers' Association, and thereafter a general discussion ensued as to the advisability of recommending a general strike of the organized workingmen of America.

It must be borne in mind that the proposition President Debs desired to submit to the Managers' Association contained no other condition than the reinstatement of the striking railroad men. In other words, the question which the men had come out for had been abandoned; they were then on strike for their positions. In view of the fact that the railroad men were asking to be reinstated, we submit to the calm judgment of all whether it would have been either wise, just, or expedient to advise our fellow-workmen of all trades through-

out the country to lay down their tools of employment and quit work.

Apart from any other consideration of this question—ay, even eschewing for a moment the consideration of contracts entered into between organized workmen and their employers, and even putting aside the excellent reasons given in the statement issued and printed below—we feel confident that it would have been the greatest mistake, the most palpable wrong ever inflicted upon the workers of our country to do other than the conference did, and that was to pledge our support to the men on strike, while advising our fellow-workers not to enter into a sympathetic strike at this time.

For hours the question was discussed, and finally the following statement agreed upon and issued:

CHICAGO, JULY 13, 1895.

The great industrial upheaval now agitating the country has been carefully, calmly, and fully considered in a conference of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the executive officers and representatives of the National and International Unions and Brotherhoods of Railway men, called to meet in Chicago, 12th of July, 1894. In the light of all the evidence obtainable, and in view of the peculiar complications now enveloping the situation, we are forced to the conclusion that the best interests of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor demand that they refrain from participating in any general or local strike which may be proposed in connection with the present railroad troubles.

In making this declaration, we do not wish it understood that we are in any way antagonistic to labor organizations now struggling for right or justice, but rather that the present contest has become surrounded and beset with complications so grave in their nature that we cannot consistently advise a course which would but add to the general confusion.

The public press, ever alive to the interests of corporate wealth, have, with few exceptions, so maliciously misrepresented matters that in the public mind the working classes are now



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WRECK NEAR HAMMOND, IND.

arrayed in open hostility to Federal authority. This is a position we do not wish to be placed in, nor will we occupy it without a protest.

We claim to be as patriotic and law-abiding as any other class of citizens, a claim substantiated by our action in times of public need and peril.

By misrepresentation and duplicity certain corporations assume that they stand for law and order, and that those opposing them represent lawlessness and anarchy. We protest against this assumption, as we protest against the inference that, because a certain individual or a certain class enjoy a monopoly in particular lines of trade or commerce, it necessarily follows that they are entitled to a monopoly of loyalty and good citizenship.

The trade-union movement is one of reason, one of deliberation, depending entirely upon the voluntary and sovereign action of its members. It is democratic in principle and action, conservative in its demands, and consistent in its efforts to secure them.

Industrial contests cannot be entered into at the behest of any individual officer of this conference, regardless of the position he may occupy in our organizations. Strikes in our affiliated organizations are entered into only as a last resort, and after all efforts for a peaceful adjustment of grievances have failed, and then only after the members have by their own votes (usually requiring a two-thirds and often a three-fourths vote) so decided.

The trade-union movement has its origin in economic and social injustice, and has its history, its struggles, and its tendency well defined. It stands as the protector of those who see the wrongs and injustice resultant of our present industrial system, and who, by organization, manifest their purpose of becoming larger sharers in the product of their labor, and who, by their efforts, contribute towards securing the unity and solidarity of labor's forces; so that in the ever-present contest of the wealth-producers to conquer their rights from the wealth-absorbers, we may by our intelligence and persistency, the earnestness of our purpose, the nobility of our cause, work out through evolutionary methods the final emancipation of labor.

While we may not have the power to order a strike of the working people of our country, we are fully aware that a

recommendation from this conference to them to lay down their tools of labor would largely influence the members of our affiliated organizations; and appreciating the responsibility resting upon us and the duty we owe to all, we declare it to be the sense of this conference that a general strike at this time is inexpedient, unwise, and contrary to the best interests of the working people. We further recommend that all connected with the American Federation of Labor now out on sympathetic strike should return to work, and those who contemplate going out on sympathetic strike are advised to remain at their usual vocations.

In this strike of the American Railway Union we recognize an impulsive, vigorous protest against the gathering, growing forces of plutocratic power and corporation rule. In the sympathetic movement of that order to help the Pullman employ  s, they have demonstrated the hollow shams of Pullman's pharisaical paradise. Mr. Pullman, in his persistent repulses of arbitration and in his heartless, autocratic treatment of his employ  s, has proven himself a public enemy.

The heart of labor everywhere throbs responsive to the manly purposes and sturdy struggle of the American Railway Union in their heroic endeavor to redress the wrongs of the Pullman employ  s. In this position they effectually reiterate the fundamental trade-union principle that working people, regardless of sex, creed, color, nationality, politics, or occupation, should have one and the same interests in one common cause for their own industrial and political advancement.

By this railway strike the people are once more reminded of the immense forces held at the call of corporate capital for the subjugation of labor. For years the railroad interests have shown the lawless example of defiance to injunctions, and have set aside laws to control them. They have displayed the utmost contempt for the Inter-State Commerce Law, have avoided its penalties and sneered at its impotency to prevent pooling discriminations and other impositions on the public. In this disregard of law these corporations have given the greatest impetus to anarchy and lawlessness. Still they did not hesitate, when confronted by outraged labor, to invoke the powers of the State. The Federal Government, backed by United States Marshals, injunctions of courts, proclamations by the President, and sustained by the bayonets of

soldiers and all the civil and military machinery of the law, have rallied on the summons of the corporations.

Against this array of armed force and brutal moneyed aristocracy, would it not be worse than folly to call men out on a general or local strike in these days of stagnant trade and commercial depression? No, better let us organize more generally, combine more closely, unite our forces, educate and prepare ourselves to protect our interests, and that we may go to the ballot-box and cast our votes as American freemen, united and determined to redeem this country from its present political and industrial misrule, to take it from the hands of the plutocratic wreckers and place it in the hands of the common people.

The correctness of the position and the wisdom of the course pursued by the conference, as plainly stated in the preceding document, will soon be demonstrated, and those of our fellow-unionists who, in their enthusiasm and impatience, believed at the time that a general strike should be entered into, will themselves see and acknowledge how serious was their mistake.

We have seen some criticism of the action of the conference, and some opponents have stated that since we believe that strikes are one of the weapons of labor, it is for that reason we should have gone into the battle. We submit that when a battle is really lost it is not the best time to stake the interests of organized labor upon that issue. And further, we assure our carping critics that when organized labor enters into a great contest it will do so of its own choosing, and not be forced into it by those who are opposed to the very policy they urge us to pursue.

One thing has been fully shown in this strike, and that is that the railroads of our country must pass from out of the hands of private ownership into that of the Gov-

ernment. Either the Government must own the railroads or, as now, the railroads own the Government, and since the Government has undertaken to operate bankrupt railroads which are placed in the hands of receivers, it is but a step further to assume ownership and control of those roads which are still solvent.

There cannot be half-way measures in this line of policy. The public is giving a willing ear and is considering the demand that organized labor has voiced for years. The Government must own and control the railroads, and the railroad employes must be thoroughly organized to protect and advance their interests, and, allied with the great forces of organized labor, help to usher in that day of general peace and good-will towards all mankind.

The impulse of the men on strike was noble, but impulses must be wisely directed. Every fibre of our being was with the strikers in their effort to help their fellows from the bondage of despotic power. Pullmanism must be downed in all its phases. The servile, the ignorant, and the usurpers in high and low places must be downed, but the downing of these evils must be accomplished by the constructive forces that will replace true patriotism for Pullmanism, democracy for autocracy. The policy of bluff and bluster may gain a hearing, but will not gain the day for which we are looking. When the time comes, if it does come, for the displacement of the barbarity of capitalism to make way for humane conditions, it will be accomplished by men whose heads are as cool as their hearts are warm.

LABOR STRIKES AND THEIR LESSONS.

BY EUGENE VICTOR DEBS.

The times in which we live demand plain, straightforward, heroic talk; subterfuge is cowardice. There should be no evasions, no concealments, no masks, no idol worship, no spectacular parade of effete theories of government, no advocacy of Russian tactics in dealing with serfs, and no Sultanic or Satanic practices in determining the rights of the workingmen.

Fortunately, or otherwise, as men view the subject, we live at a time when the "labor problem" is before the country for debate and solution. Those who enter the argumentative arena must come equipped with arguments based upon cause, with logic keen as a Damascus blade and as penetrating and as quieting as a Federal bullet or bayonet.

The labor problem is the problem of problems now before the country. In another publication I took occasion to say that "the labor problem involves the consideration of a number of problems, but they all go to make up the one problem as certainly as that air is composed of oxygen, nitrogen, and carbon. Suppose the subject for discussion be taxation? All taxes are paid by labor. Suppose it be revenue? All revenues are derived from labor. Suppose it be wealth? All wealth is the creation of labor. Is the question building cities? Only labor makes them possible. Is it clearing away the wilderness? They would remain as God planted them but for labor. Is it a question of food? Famine would be un-

versal only for labor. But for labor no keel would cleave the waves nor locomotives speed along their iron tracks. The warehouses would stand empty, factories would be silent, ships and docks would rot, cities would tumble down, and universal ruin would prevail. These are economic truths, like the azoic rocks upon which the world is built; they are the verities upon which civilization, progress, and the hopes of the world are based."

In this connection I quote the language of Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, late Secretary of War, who, referring to labor agitation at the time, said:

"I am, with others, to some extent, an employer of labor. I take a deep interest in the labor question. To my mind it rises in importance *above* all others. * * * The question presented by the present labor agitation is both industrial and social, and concerns not the capitalist nor the wage-receiver exclusively, nor the one more than the other, but the whole body of society and the State itself. It involves a great principle, in the presence of which individual interests become insignificant. No question more serious or of graver importance ever came before the American people, and upon its *right* settlement may not only depend the *future* of society, but ultimately the fate of the great republic."

I reproduce the language of Mr. Elkins to demonstrate the invulnerability of the proposition that the labor problem, in its present importance and far-reaching influences, towers above all other problems; that in its settlement, if justice hold sway, the "gates of hell" will not prevail against the "great republic," but if, in the solution of the labor problem, justice is bribed or bludgeoned into silence by the weapons of rapacity, and spoliation forever wielded for the discomfiture of labor,

ultimate consequences will not be contemplated with composure.

The lessons taught by strikes are to be studied with reference to causes as well as effect, if the purpose in view is to find remedies for the ceaseless unrest in the ranks of labor, culminating all too often, perhaps, in strikes.

Every strike of workingmen of which the public has taken cognizance has had its origin in wrongs and rank injustice; but, if we are to believe the common press-reports, strikes result from pernicious influences exerted by "labor agitators," "walking delegates," men of small capacities devoted to making mischief, and that but for them labor would be contented and prosperous. Manifestly, such assumptions are false, manufactured for base purposes, and are therefore unworthy of more consideration than attaches to puerile mendacity; and yet it will not be gainsaid that such utterances, designed to obscure the truth, have been potential in poisoning the public mind and in bringing about conditions which have indefinitely increased the burdens and ills which have afflicted labor to an extent that in many instances defies exaggeration.

Sane men, seeking for the truth, whether identified with labor organizations or standing aloof from them—men interested in the public welfare—men whose incomes are not dependent upon the spoliation of wage-earners, will hesitate long before accepting as conclusive the *ex parte* arraignment of labor agitators as the cause of strikes. They will reason that the wide-spread unrest everywhere prevailing in the ranks of labor must, of necessity, have a more logical cause; that agitation is but an expression of grievances which, having been borne to the limit of endurance, are forced at last upon

public attention, the *dernier ressort* often being the strike, and when it comes it has its lessons, which communities, States, and nations are required to study. To dismiss them with a sneer as the mere effervescence of agitators, the froth of fanatics, the vagaries of cranks no longer answers the demand. The lessons which strikes force upon public attention are of such a serious character that at last the Government of the United States has determined to delve for causes, to find the poisoned fountains from which labor grievances flow, at least in one instance, in which the strike has stirred the nation to profounder depths than has hitherto been credited to any labor upheaval.

Taking into consideration my environments, reticence with regard to the great strike of the American Railway Union—sometimes spoken of as the “Pullman strike”—might in some quarters be deemed a virtue, but as it has taught the nation a mighty lesson I know of no reason why I may not be heard upon the subject.

I do not use these pages for self-defence. I neither seek nor crave notoriety. I am neither passive nor defiant. With convictions intact and manhood unabashed, I view the past of my life with composure and await developments unmoved. ❀

I write of the lessons of the strike, their immediate influence, with such reflections relating to the future as, reasoning from cause to effect, may suggest. If we as a nation are to have an era of justice to labor, in which the alarm-bells of strikes are to be heard no more, no one will hail the advent of peace and good-will with more enthusiasm than myself. But I do not believe, nor do I think it can be shown, that strikes have been an unmixed evil to labor, to society, or to the State. The



P. M. ARTHUR
Grand Master Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.



tongue of history does not proclaim that strikes have been uniformly or mainly abortive. On the contrary, history teaches that much, great, and permanent good has resulted from strikes. The time is largely within the memory of men now living when employers exacted *twelve, fourteen*, and, in some instances, *sixteen* hours as a day's work. Men demanded a reduction of hours of toil, but the demand was conceded only after years of struggle, accompanied with strikes and attended with many sacrifices incident to resistance, such as idleness and want. But the men were heroic, patient, and persistent, and though they suffered in contending for a principle embodying right and justice, they bequeathed to American workingmen a *ten*-hour day—indeed, a *nine*-hour day—rescuing from the grasp of employers at least *five* hours a day for rest, for recuperation, for home, for mental and physical improvement, and society is all the better for the victory won by the time-strikes of workmen. The inordinate greed, the mercenary instinct of human nature were overcome by strikes oft-repeated, and, though sometimes lost, were ultimately successful. Nor has the demand for a still less number of hours for a day's work ceased.

There are in the field a host of labor agitators who are demanding that eight hours shall constitute a day's work. The Federal Government, in response to agitation, has yielded to the demand. States have passed eight-hour laws with *provisos* which practically nullify contemplated benefits, but the work of agitation and education proceeds. There have been eight-hour strikes attended with sacrifices and inconveniences, idleness, and the ills which idleness entails, but the work goes bravely on and victory is in sight.

In this contention for a reduction of hours it is admitted that society is largely the beneficiary, because every movement which emancipates men from mental and physical exhaustion inures to the welfare of the homes of workingmen, and therefore to the well-being of the State.

As a general proposition, I think the statement will not be seriously questioned that a large majority of the strikes have had their origin in disagreements relating to wages, nor do I hesitate to affirm that the general policy of employers has been to secure the largest possible number of hours for a day's work at the least possible rate of wages. I refer to the rule;—that there are notable exceptions goes without the saying, and these exceptions students of labor questions grasp with eagerness and give them the widest possible publicity, because they serve as an exemplification of what may be accomplished when men who employ labor and capital are animated by a desire to deal justly and not avail themselves of conditions to make themselves rapidly rich by methods which bear a striking resemblance to piracy.

Omitting many causes of strikes, which will readily occur to the minds of those at all familiar with labor troubles, I repeat that the bed-rock cause of the strikes which have from time to time aroused public attention has been wages; and if there are those who deny the affirmation, they will find it difficult to supply proof to maintain their position, and therefore the lessons taught by strikes are eminently and pre-eminently of an economic character. They relate to the well-being of a vast number of men, currently estimated at 17,000,000. If they are underpaid, if they are the victims of injustice, if of the wealth they create they do not receive such a share as enables them to live above the level of squalor and remote from

the boundary lines of degradation, in consequence of which they strike for better conditions, public opinion should be concentrated more upon the causes and less upon the effects of the strike, because upon the removal of the cause rests the only hope for peace, and such would be the case if public opinion were not largely manufactured by agencies which wealth, and not weal, creates and controls.

In the United States there are reasons for maintaining that the wage-question has more significance and importance than in any other country, growing out of the fact that the wage-earners of the United States are *bona fide* citizens, clothed with all the prerogatives of citizenship. They constitute a part, and a very large and important part, of "we, the people." They are not opposed to the Government, to its laws, nor to its flag. They are not anarchists, and though badgered and buffeted as members of the great army of labor, they are, nevertheless, by constitution and statute, sovereign citizens, and when they strike it is that their food, clothing, and shelter may be such as become American citizens; and this lesson is always taught when they strike for rights, the denial of which deprives them of liberty, of the means of pursuing happiness, and of life itself; since when wages will not sustain life mendicancy and vagabondism, even worse than death, ensue. The idea is fully expressed in the following lines by an unknown author:

Know, autocrats, aristocrats,
All men with sounding titles,
Whose hands have wrung with demon's grasp
The pauper's shrunken vitals—
Man has awakened in his might,
He knows the wrong, he knows the right!
We say it! We the people!

There was a time when Ignorance
Fell with a leaden weight
Upon the "mass"—ye call'd it thus—
The mass felt then but hate!
But now we wake to know our might.
We know the wrong, we know the right!
We say it! We the people!

God did not say that some should starve
While others cloy with pleasures;
He did not constitute a class
The keepers of his treasures!
It has seemed thus before, but light
Has shown the burdened what is right!
We say it! We the people!

He never said that any man
Was born to rule another,
But told us that we each should treat
Our fellow as our brother.
And now, awakening in our might,
We mean to have it so—'tis right!
We say it! We the people!

There are a number of lessons taught by the strike which the obstinacy of the Pullman Palace Car Company forced upon its employés and upon the country. To grasp them in their entirety is not an easy task; to catalogue and classify them in a way to enable the general reader to realize to the fullest extent the wrong and injustice they teach, demands a process of analytic and synthetic discussion for which I shall not ask space.

On the one hand, a great corporation, rich to plethora, rioting in luxuries, plutocratic, proud, and powerful, and yet mean and mercenary to an extent that compels hyperbole to sit dumb in the presence of piracies decked out in the robes of paternalism and philanthropy—a corporation adept in chicane and duplicity reduced to a science—in possession of land, habitations, water, light

and fuel, mills and machinery, thus controlling the lives and liberties of at least 25,000 human beings, men, women, and children, becomes an object-lesson which the nation is now required to study.

On the other hand is seen an object-lesson of a different type. It is not a picture of houses and lands, lawns and landscape, "sacred grass," violets and rose-trees, sparkling fountains and singing birds, and an atmosphere burdened with the aroma of flowers, but of human beings living amidst such surroundings and toiling for a pittance doled out to them by their employers—as a Heber might say: "Where every prospect pleases," and only man is wretched, where sunken eyes and hollow cheeks speak of poniard-pointed hunger-pangs, where childhood has lost its joyousness and motherhood its hopes, and where strong men bow like reeds before tempests which drive them to despair.

As an object-lesson, the condition of the Pullman employés before the strike is worthy of serious consideration. Unable to shelter themselves, unable to feed themselves, unable to clothe themselves, the Pullman employés were made to realize their hapless and helpless condition, where the power on the throne ordered all their ways and reduced them to a point of destitution which required them to sit upon their coffins and contemplate a lingering death by starvation. It is assumed that labor agitators brought about the Pullman strike. Is it not, on the contrary, the fact that the Pullman employés, having been despoiled to the limit of endurance, by the exercise of their volition decided to strike? And that, too, upon the hypothesis that, whatever might happen, their condition could not be made worse. This being the fact, verified by overwhelming testimony, does

it not become the public, the courts, and the Government, in studying the lessons of the strike, to probe for causes, and then determine if the effects were not as logical as in any case of cause and effect within the entire domain of human affairs.

The cause of the strike was brazen heartlessness, cruelties that touched the vitals of innocent toilers untainted by crime, obedient to law, seeking to maintain their families by their work, and striking only when robbed by processes as relentless as foot-padism. The cause being cruelty—a crime as infamous as ever made a human heart its hiding-place, a crime that makes its perpetrator a monster while it blasts the hopes of its victims—ought to be productive of resistance, and such resistance ought to command the approval of every honest patriotic American.

The great lesson of the Pullman strike is found in the fact that it arouses wide-spread sympathy. This fellow-feeling for the woes of others—this desire to help the unfortunate; this exhibition of a divine principle, which makes the declaration plausible that “man was made a little lower than God,” and without which man would rank lower than the devil by several degrees—should be accepted as at once the hope of civilization and the supreme glory of manhood. And yet this exhibition of sympathy aroused by the Pullman strike is harped upon by press and pulpit as the one atrocious feature of the strike. Epithets, calumny, denunciation in every form that malice or mendacity could invent have been poured forth in a vitriol tide to scathe those who advocated and practised the Christ-like virtue of sympathy. The crime of the American Railway Union was the practical exhibition of sympathy for the Pullman employés. Humanity and Christianity, undebauched and unperverted, are forever pleading for sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. In all the tomes of civilized literature those

who search for expressions and periods indicative of man's primal innocence, of hope for his deliverance from base desires, his emancipation from vice, inherited or acquired, of faith in an eternity of happiness, find them embodied in emanations flowing from sympathetic souls that have been loyal to God, to Truth, and to Justice; true to convictions, true to duty, however fierce the ordeal their fidelity may have required them to endure.

In studying this lesson of the Pullman strike, men, sturdy men, who know the right and dare maintain the right, have had occasion to note to what an extent the love of "filthy lucre" has debauched the press of the country—not all of it—no, for in all of the cities of our boasted civilization, our marts of money and trade, there have been publications that could be neither intimidated nor debauched. Invective, scurrility, and maledictions have done their utmost, and yet those courageous advocates of the right ceaselessly thunder into the public ear the dangers of despotism, warnings which will be remembered and treasured all the more certainly if the passing cyclone of passion shall have obliterated for a time the landmarks of liberty, and by arbitrary methods shall have secured that dangerous peace which comes to nations in the red track of bullets and bayonets, or is found behind the iron doors and bars of bastiles.

The strikes, while they have taught the country that sympathy remains in the breasts of thousands, have impressed upon all the fact that others prefer to nurse selfishness as cold as ice, and hate as hot as old Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace and as relentless as death; and, by a strange perversion of mind and morals, there are those who predict national health, happiness, and prosperity from those who imperil the security and peace of the State by their rapacity, in alliance with the victims of their spoliations, who, at least, debased to the level of coolies and peons, accept degradation without resistance.

But there is a lesson taught by the Pullman strike the study of which affords a glimmer of hope and satisfaction. It has taught the nation to place an honest estimate upon George M. Pullman. It has dragged the wrecker of homes and hopes from luxurious abode and sentenced him to the pillory for life, where he will feel the pelting storms of the scorn of men, women, and children who have been the victims of his villainy.

Again, the lesson taught by the Pullman strike has forced upon the Chief Magistrate of the Republic the fact that there is a pressing necessity for investigation; that labor demands other than military methods to mould its destiny. It has taught the nation that American workmen ought not to be subjected to Russian methods, unless it has been determined to reduce them to serfs and their homes to huts and lairs. The fact that a commission has been appointed, clothed with Federal power, to investigate the causes leading to the Pullman strike, is encouraging; and if, peradventure, such results should be obtained as shall ultimately elevate labor and emancipate workingmen from corporation slavery, and permit them to rejoice in all the fruitions of liberty, then, in that case, history will record the fact, regardless of present verdicts, that in the organization of the American Railway Union there was a "divinity that shaped its ends," and an inscrutable Providence directing its acts. Should such be the verdict, such the outcome, those who may be called upon to suffer for the good they have accomplished will be consoled and strengthened by the reflection that, innocent of riot, rapine, and blood, they were instrumental, in alliance with other forces, in ushering in an era when employer and employ shall learn war no more; when the last bullet and bayonet, sent upon their mission of death, have drawn from the hearts of oppressed workingmen their last libation to redden the altars of American liberty.



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PACIFIC FREIGHT CARS, PANHANDLE RAILROAD, EAST OF GRAND CROSSING

SUNDRY SPEECHES

OF THE

AUTHOR OF THIS BOOK.

It seems proper to give in this book some speeches, and parts of speeches, which I have delivered at various times and in sundry places, concerning the questions upon which it bears.

FOURTH OF JULY SPEECH.

This country of ours is a remarkable one, peculiar in several respects. There are countries in which the working multitudes are powerless. If they attempt to set up a public society, it is crushed; if they try to establish their proper rights, or to do away with public wrongs, they are imprisoned, or banished, or shot, or bayoneted, or hanged. But the great feature of the public life of this country, the one never to be lost sight of, the one we should never be tired of glorifying—and yet the one which our industrial classes have seemed to be entirely unaware of—is that all power over all things is given to the people, over even laws, and possessions, and pretensions, and institutions, and shams!

What a trifling part of our all-embracing power is ever exercised! How few of our great rights do we ever think of enforcing; how few of our great wrongs do we ever think of nullifying!

This conduct on our part is dangerous, and sure to be ruinous.

Even the Government itself, with all the gigantic forces that belong to it, is under our control.

It is an extraordinary way of doing things, while possessing everything, that our Revolutionary Fathers provided for us. They said to the common body of the people: "Freehold is given you of all things, and you can fashion everything according to your judgment in respect to your own welfare. Yours are the lands of the country,—its fruits, its mines, and all its swelling resources; yours to use and enjoy—let no usurper wrest them from you or cheat you out of them."

The Revolutionary Fathers also established the novel and far-reaching principle, not yet fully applied in ordinary affairs, that all power is in the people; that the legislation must be of their own enacting and the laws of their own making; that they can reverse any legislation and abolish any law, and that they can make such reasonable use of the public goods, for the welfare of the community, as may seem meet to them.

The Revolutionary Fathers also provided an extraordinary way for exercising this power and for carrying out these or other objects—the plainest possible way, to wit: the vote. *Vote for anything you want*, AND IT IS YOURS—if the majority of the votes be on your side.

Could these American revolutionists of last century have given us a plainer, an easier, or a better way of doing things and getting things? By using this plain and peaceful means of power, the people have at times entered into at least a few of their possessions. It is not many years since fools were laughing at the popular refrain, "Vote yourself a farm." Yet a Congress was

elected that put this byword into a law entitling squatters to 160 acres of the public land. This is but one of the illustrations easily given to show the bearing of the living principle laid down by our Revolutionary forefathers who were the Republic's founders.

In thus referring to our inheritance of these fertile principles of 1776, I am telling you not what everybody knows and practices, but what few seem to be aware of, and fewer still ever think of putting into full practice. They are our worthiest heritage, the most precious fruit of our Revolution,—consecrated at Bunker Hill, glorified at Yorktown, triumphant under George Washington, and incarnate in the Constitution. The men who deny them are our most deadly enemies; the politicians who give them false gloss, the newspapers who ridicule them, the monopolists who undermine them, the traitors who turn their guns upon them, and the soft-fingered louts who sneer at them—all such as these are the deadliest foes of our country.

Let us cherish the principles of the Revolution; try every man and all things by these magnificent principles, and we will very soon rid the country of the hostile forces now forging fetters for us under the flag of freedom. Upon the workingmen of the country especially do I now call for the defence of the franchises that were bequeathed to the whole people.

Here now, friends, I reach the last feature of this discourse. Amid all the babble about the rights of man and his wrongs, how shall we tell in what they really consist? Well, fortunately for us as Americans, we have an official document on this subject. It contains an authentic statement from the men who were the original builders of this Republic. That document is the corner-

stone and foundation of this young American Republic, and whosoever buildeth not upon this stone let him be cast out. Though fools sneer at the great document, though it be scorned by both of our slaughter-house political parties, though false editors falsify it and ignoramus undervalue it, yet without it we have no American Republic worthy of the name, no freedom other than a sham. It is the Declaration of Independence, around which battles were fought and through which the Revolution was triumphant. We have men among us who yawn, or squirm, or sneer at the mention of it; but do not let us sneer at it, or tolerate the sneers of others, for to us and to our country it is everything.

There are men who tell us its language was not serious; yet it was the most serious thing of the war of Independence. There are men who say its words are too trite for repetition; but they ought to be forever repeated by all of us until they become living facts. Its words are as full of the spirit of life and as applicable to-day as they were a hundred years ago.

THREE NATURAL RIGHTS.

Now, this ever-living document names three natural rights with which all men are endowed—the right to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

How fruitful is each of these words! How pregnant the phrase “natural rights,”—a thing to which man is born,—which belongs to him by the fact of his birth, and which, in Jefferson’s words, is inalienable! Many arrogant scribblers of statecraft and sacerdotalism, besides not a few American Tories, have denied that man has any natural rights; but Jefferson, the author of our great document, *differed from them upon that great point, and*

our country, as it stood for a hundred years, was a monument to his side of the difference.

First in Jefferson's trilogy is the right to life, including, of course, the means of life, the things necessary to it. Every man has a birth-right to the means of life, and his life itself is assailed when this is for any reason denied him. Shakespeare makes that astute reasoner Shylock utter these remarkable words:

"You take my house
When you do take the prop that doth sustain my house;
You take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

Shylock's words are true words, deep and wise; and if men are deprived of the proper means of life through any arrangement of society, any industrial system, any corporate power, any monopolizing aristocracy, any unjust distribution of the world's products, *murder is perpetrated.*

Now, the chief means of man's life is the soil, from which come the food he eats, the cotton of which his clothing is made, the wood or stone of which his house is built, the coal that warms him, the iron, and brass, and gold that are of service to him. I am not going to refer to the land question farther than to say that every man's right to life implies every man's right to land. As this, then, is one of the natural rights of man, it is, consequently, a wrong to man to deprive him of his share of the soil in which the means of life are grown.

Upon Thomas Jefferson and our Declaration of Independence do I found this principle.

The next natural and inalienable right of every man is that to liberty. Glorious word! Meaning not merely the absence of the grosser oppressions of kings and

aristocracies, but the full freedom of personal manhood—the right to use, and develop, and enjoy all the manifold faculties, powers, qualities, and opportunities so bountifully bestowed upon man.

“What a piece of work,” says Hamlet, “is a man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving, how express and admirable! in action, how like an angel! in apprehension, how like a god!”

It is in this view of man that we must consider the meaning and scope of man's liberty. We are apt to give a narrow or paltry meaning to the word; but we shall never grow up to it, or even turn our aim to it, until we see how it ought to expand and elevate our life. True enough, liberty is a political and social condition; but I repeat that its finest meaning is freedom for the growth of a full and generous manhood.

Liberty, then, in its every proper sense, is among the natural rights of man; and, consequently, when, in any way, he is deprived of it, he is the victim of wrong.

Upon Thomas Jefferson and our Declaration of Independence do I found this principle.

The third of the natural and inalienable rights of man lying at the foundation of our Republic and referred to in the great Declaration, is the right to the pursuit of happiness—one of the loftiest of Jefferson's ideas. What a satire it is, in the present state of society, to say that every man is endowed with this natural right. Go tell it in the quarters of squalor; tell it to the drudges of despair; tell it to the festering masses of our cities. Tell them that this is their birthright—the pursuit of happiness, bequeathed to them by the founders of our Republic of equal rights; and ask them what are the obstructions,

and why they tolerate obstructions between them and the pursuit of happiness?

But do not fail to tell them at the same time that this natural, inalienable, and bewitching right is mentioned after two other rights which must precede it in the order of experience—the natural rights of life and of liberty. First give to all men life with the means of it, and liberty with its means. First offer to every man the fulness of the world with its resources, and the freedom of the mind with its opportunities, and then the pursuit of happiness will be within reach of the whole human race.

Upon Thomas Jefferson and our Declaration of Independence do I found this principle.

Now, my friends, with the workingmen of the country lies the hope of the future, or its despair. Never had workingmen in any other country such a heritage as was bequeathed by our fathers—never such rights as were won by the Revolution.

I abjure you, under penalty of death, let no usurper wrest them from you, no gambler cheat you out of them.

SPEECH AT PHILADELPHIA.

This is a new idea, these great conferences of world-builders in the chief cities of the country, to examine the groundwork of things. It is a good and strong idea, full of life and hope. It is a genuine democratic idea, worthy of the American people.

Outside of political parties, beyond the control of party leaders, looking to other ends than those pursued by the cormorants of office, are the men of the new movement. I have observed, in these great conferences at which I have been present in New York, Chicago,

Philadelphia, and elsewhere, a readiness to take hold of questions from which the pusillanimous parties shrink, but which are advancing inexorably to the front, and which must be grappled with if we are not to succumb to their menaces and dangers.

It is not with foolish audacity, but with due regard to the public safety and welfare, that we confront these great questions—that we demand a hearing for the millions against the millionaires, for man against parties, and establishments, and vested privileges, and corporations, and courts, and customs, and cannon, and capital—against the false system of land-holding, the wrongful features of trade, the crushing contrivances of legislation, and the ruinous practices of society.

It is not with malice or levity, but with serious mind and purpose, that we approach the fundamental principles that must be properly solved, under penalty of death. We know the powers that are defying the people—their might and insolence. We behold their ravages and their victims. We can see into what a state they are bringing our beloved country. It is too grave for bitterness, too alarming for charlatanry.

The world-builders, the men who do the world's work, have a right to take up these questions, and they have the power to settle them. This is the best feature of our Democratic-Republican Constitution—the one about which flourishes all our hopes for the future. To you, men, all power is given over all things within your dominion, and you can fashion everything here according to your judgment of the proper nature of things. Yours is the land of the State, if ye do but know it; yours are its mines of coal and iron, if ye do but take them; yours are all its swelling resources as soon as ye



P. C. C. & ST. L. R. R. AT 59TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

assert your right to them; yours are its institutions yours its laws and legislature, if ye will but lay hold of them.

WHO OWNS THE WORLD.

The world belongs to its builders, and theirs is the loss if they permit the plunderers to seize it, or the gamblers to cheat them out of it.

I am aware that this sort of thing is often heard; but yet very few fully understand its meaning and bearing or ever think of acting upon it.

I say it is a warning of your responsibility; and how great, in this view of the case, is your responsibility for the state of things here among the coal-miners, and the iron-workers, and the factory operatives, and other toilers of the work-shops of your State, including women and children?

Take warning, and again be warned, for there are cockatrice eggs in Pennsylvania.

Well, my friends of Philadelphia, I am very glad to know that a large proportion of the workers of this city are better off, in many ways, than any portion of their fellow-workers in the other cities of the country—that you have here less beggary, pauperism, vagabondism, and degradation—that you have fewer vampires with two hundred millions of dollars, or one hundred millions, than we have in my city—and that the struggle for existence here is less destructive than elsewhere. Good for Philadelphia—good so far!

Well is it for you in so far as you have these advantages over New York, the city of squalor and splendor, of rookeries for the millions, palaces for the millionaires—New York, the conditions of life for whose masses are alarmingly illustrated by its annual death-rate.

THE TREE OF LIFE.

But here, as there and everywhere else, the questions for the workers are the same in their nature, are sharply pressing us all, and are forever demanding answer, as I have said, under penalty of death. The workers here, as there and everywhere else, are trying to reach the fruits of the tree of life which are our birthright.

The test of public order and welfare is plain and at hand. It is the condition of the body of the people. What is their life, and how do they live? Do their wages give them the fruition which they earn, or even the proper means of livelihood? Have the men who do the work of the world got possession of the fruits of the world, and are the circumstances of their life adapted to the necessities of their nature?

Many things will grow in the mind of the man who has the pluck to look these broad questions in the face.

THE LABOR TRILOGY.

I close by presenting three plain ideas :

Firstly, I warn you that in these times the workers of the world are preparing to take a hand in the government of the world—to take hold of the administration of its resources, its business, and its politics. It is high time for them. The kings, lords, generalissimos, schemers, and financiers, who have seized our earth, are incompetent to administer its affairs. They have had their way age after age, generation upon generation, and the shipwreck of mankind is the result. But now the day of judgment for them is at hand. Man takes the field to harvest his rights. The old dispensation passeth; a new era glimmers along the sky.

Secondly, I warn you of the growth of unity of action among the world's workers, here and in all countries. From State to State, from land to land, they are signalling to each other; through all forms of government they are learning to co-operate; amid all varieties of speech they find the universal language. This is a new thing, and a great thing, from which will grow other great and new things.

Thirdly and lastly, I warn you of the nature of the demands of the world's workers. They are essentially the same throughout this country, and in all countries. There is unity of programme as well as of action. They must have full scope for their proper power in the community; they must have their allotment of the resources and the heritage of the earth.

These terms are natural, reasonable, and righteous; and the fact that they are everywhere made and everywhere increasing in strength is the assurance that, whatever they may have to encounter, they will yet be secured.

"STORM AND STRESS" SPEECH AT CHICAGO YEARS AGO

All hail, men of Chicago! All hail, women of Chicago! And thrice I salute the friendly myriads whom now for the first time I behold.

We are here as the offspring of an idea—an idea living and strong, world-wide and everlasting, creative and transforming—out of which shall yet grow the new heavens and the new earth of righteousness.

I am here to proclaim in words of soberness the truth that gives life to this idea—its necessity to mankind, and its show at this time in the world.

It gives me especial joy to proclaim these things here in Illinois, where are the bones of my father, and where the first years of my manhood were spent. Not myself an Illinoisian, he was one of the pioneers of this State when yet Chicago was in her swaddling-clothes and traded with the Indians along the bluffs of yonder river when yet the questions that wake the echoes of to-day were unheard of.

Amid this wonderful acclaim of life, I feel the exuberancy and the spell.

Welcome the hopes that have been raised within the past few years by this blossoming city of Chicago, and that are quickened here by the spectacle of to-day. Welcome these harbingers of the morn, in this time of storm and stress!

It is not for your far-off comrades to forget that here the new idea of welfare and felicity, through judgment and justice, has found its most generous welcome and shown its most hopeful power. Not for me shall it be to forget the spirit that here fills this air with its life, blazoning the prospects of the world.

In other years, at the opening of the last great American debate between the hostile forces of time, the chief cities of the country stood for slavery and the black flag. But in the new struggle of to-day between the old hostile forces, we have other prospects, so far as the cities are concerned. In our cities we await the advent of the light. The cock has crowed in New York; it is peep of day in Boston; there are streaks in the skies of Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Detroit and New Orleans; the beams have struck San Francisco, and now the morning is glimmering over Chicago. Ay, there is hope when thus from the cities we descry the advancing sun.

Yet we are in the times of storm and stress—the sky beclouded, the earth reeking with wrong, and man groaning amid his woes.

It needs not to tell of the havoc of the storm or the bane of the stress. We cannot get out of sight thereof, wherever we turn. Look at poverty, deep and devouring—at capitalism and vampireism—at drudgery driven to death—at the ferocity of competitive strife—at festering politics—at Jaygouldery, harlotry, corporationism, and newspaper deviltry.

If these plagues belong to the nature of things, and are ineradicable, better perish in despair; but they are against nature and man's nature—doomed, if man gives the word.

It is the toiling ruck, the swarms of our great cities, who wither under their ravages. In my own New York, which is their prostrate victim, they revel amid swelling pauperism, criminalism, and death-rates; and even here, in youthful Chicago, do not your tyrants know about the teeming quarters through which I took a turn yesterday? They are seen everywhere—menacing, warning, and growing yet more formidable. Our American cities are in distortion—the millions in the quagmire, while the millionaires quaff the life of *débonnaire*.

But we hear that the years of stress are about over, that the good times are at hand, that the days of welfare for man are here. Ay, is it so? *Have the men who do the work of the world got possession of the fruits of the world, and are the circumstances of their life adapted to the necessities of their nature? The test of popular prosperity and the public welfare is plain. It is the condition of the body of the people. What is their life, and how do they live?* Do these quarters of the swarming herds

show their welfare? Are these rookeries fit for homes? Is this shrunk manhood the flower of prosperity? What of the work and the pay, the habitat and the grub, the hopes and the outlook of the millions of laborers? Do their wages give them the fruition which they earn, or even the proper means of decent livelihood? What of the hirelings of the corporations, the coal-miners, the mill-hands, the street-car drudges of a thousand lines? What of this child labor and these female competitors—the counter-struggle between the offspring and the parent? What of these ragged hordes now to be seen in our great cities and elsewhere?

Popular prosperity! Public welfare! Talk not of welfare while yet so many fare all too ill for words to tell of it!

Now, my comrades, we would have change—change through the establishment of justice—through worthy politics, orderly industry, and social democracy, abolishing wrong by establishing right. We hold that this is within the power of man—that it is necessary to man's well-being—and that it would be wholly beneficent to all mankind. Take the principles of this new democracy, abolish the wrongs which they condemn, establish the rights which they proclaim, and how great will be the advance of the world!

"All men are created equal," said the great American statesman of the Revolution. Proclaim these words as the practical order of public business, enforce them upon the whole community, and then the way will be prepared for that welfare whose foundations are yet to be laid.

But I am asked: What is the prospect of this new democracy? Well, here to-day is an interesting prospect; and if this mighty host do their proper work in

Chicago along the whole line, as American citizens, the whirl of the next few years will bring another and far more enlivening prospect than this. Everywhere the democracy are showing themselves. They stand for right and man's right. In perhaps thirty cities their ballots have appeared in the boxes—pregnant ballots. By their papers, at their meetings, and through other means of propaganda their principles are announced, and wrong-doers are warned. They operate in many ways unknown to the newspapers. They have allies in many quarters. They find co-operation in the mobile forces which appear now and then. Plenty of opportunities are sure to come to them in the future. The air is surcharged with the essence of their power, which is found in the truth of their principles and the nature of man.

Well, now, comrades of Chicago! what shall you do? how gain strength? in what ways carry on business? what next? Comrades, you have done well here thus far; and my word is, Push things! Watch and work. Every day has its luck; every man has his tug; every work has its way. But I say unto you that in courage there is strength; in union there is strength; in thought there is strength; in right there is strength!

Now, in these times of storm and stress, let us not limit the outlook by the outlines of the new democracy; let us sweep the skies and watch the tides, and let us just now cast a look at the driftwood, and whither drifting. Thick is the driftwood, and many are the floaters, of which I now count a baker's dozen. Here is antimonopoly, there antiland grabbing; here is grangerism, there trade-unionism; here is antirack rent, there antitax shirking; here is greenbackism or Government money, there co-operation; here is the income tax, there

the postal bank ; here are strikes ; here is the eight-hour league, and there is something else.

Interesting floaters, truly ; and to every one of them all I cry, Good luck !

They are signs of that fermenting discontent which is the spirit of all beneficent change. In each of these things I see a desirable movement ; from all of them advantages are sure to accrue.

Let the antimonopolist assail the monstrous power which breeds monsters, and he will prepare the way for something better.

Let the trade-unionist strengthen his union, and he will find the secret of organized industrial action.

Let the antiland grabber prosecute his agitation, and he will reach the true theory of the relation of man to the soil.

Let the granger build up his grange, and he will see how much of his crop has been seized by the cormorant.

Let the antirack-renter groan over his rack till he know why he is bled by the rent-racker.

Let the co-operationist try his way, and he will see how his substance is wasted upon false profits.

Let the Government moneyist or greenbacker grapple with the financial question, and he will seize the principles of monetary law.

Let the striker make demand for higher wages and fewer hours, and he will get enlightenment on the wrongfulness of the wage system.

Let the income tax, the postal bank, and the Government railroad and telegraph advocates carry out their argument, and they will discover the proper method of direction for these and other agencies of public business.

Let them all show how political power can be won,

BURNED FREIGHT CARS ON PANHANDLE RAILROAD



public changes brought about, and constitutions and laws upset or set up by the working people, and be assured that the example will not be useless, there or elsewhere.

To all these floaters, then, again I cry, Luck !

I see the underlying philosophy of them all, and I know the part they play in the general movement of things by leading to the discussion of principles and the acceptance of new ideas.

We go beyond them all. We go for systematic movement—in which alone are the proper way of progress and the wholesome growth of our country. You offer to the men who are clinging to these various floaters a body of truth fuller of promise, more satisfactory to the mind, and more comprehensive. Let them examine the demands and aims of the new democracy, and see if they do not offer the advantages for which they have been looking, as well as other desirable things. I myself go beyond the platform of the new democracy, which seems to me but as the morning glow of the full orb of truth which will yet illuminate the sky. And here let me say unto you that this party did not *invent* the principles it proclaims, and that these principles are not now foisted as novelties into the air, but that they are old as the world, strong as life.

What prospects would open to our land under political and industrial justice. How the popular welfare would flourish under the rights of man! The shining American Republic! "Methinks," exclaimed John Milton, of the English Commonwealth, "methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty

youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam."

But world-wide, my comrades! world-wide are the storm and stress of the times! Full of portents are the cardinal words, Germany, France, England, Italy, Spain, Russia, America.

That old Shakespearian whirligig of time which brings his revenges is yet whirling, and has other turns to make in the years at hand.

[Here the speaker, John Swinton, gave sketches of affairs in England, France, Germany, Russia, and other European countries, ending with the couplet:

I pledge ye, in this cup of grief
Where floats the fennel's bitter leaf.]

Comrades of Chicago! though these are times of storm and stress, here and elsewhere, they are yet times of promise. My opening words were of the harbingers of the morn, and I announce that the light of day waits upon the will of man.

Ye friends of mine who are against us! do not farther strive to prolong the stressful times. Come over and help us. Be not terrified by alarmists. The transformations of time always appear dangerous to those who are heedless of the perspective of the world. Men were horrified, a brief century ago, when the new ideas set themselves up against serfdom, and superstition, and tyrannism; but now in our time, when these ideas are at large, has the globe burst? It was a dread thing for even the wise men of the sixteenth century to hear of the innovations that menaced the mediæval establishment; but those innovations are now public law, and yet the world stands. Back through the ages every new dispensation, including that of the gibbeted Galilean, has

perplexed and dismayed the men of the old order, who associated it with impending calamities and deplorable results. But still we know, as we look back through time, that the recurring transformations have but shown the development of the human race under the operation of invisible law. Does any simpleton suppose that they have come to an end, or that he can put a stop to them, or that there is no further necessity for them? Simpleton, indeed, he must be! In these times there are, as in other times there were, prophecies of the approaching apocalypse. It is not worth while to be alarmed; for it will surely come, and our old world will rejoice in the new day.

Comrades of Chicago! Farewell.

SCRAPS FROM OTHER SPEECHES.

THE SCOPE OF ORGANIZATION.

All the chief powers of the world, excepting only the power of labor, have fully understood the importance of organization. The Church is a great organized body of people holding certain theological tenets and striving to secure certain objects; and it is to the fact of its organization that its efficiency is due. Within the Church itself there are many separately organized bodies, which carry on sundry special works, and it is to their organization that they owe their success.

The Government, again, is but a great public body organized for certain ends, and under our Federal system we have subordinate organizations of State, county, city or ward.

In the community there are very many great interests organized for their own advantage. Look at that vast

trade-union called the Stock Exchange, with its organized power in numbers and capital, and at numerous other business institutions, organized so as to concentrate their influence, defend their interests, and decide those questions in which their members are concerned.

Look at the hundreds of great corporations that have been organized for profit.

If labor of all kinds shall fail to organize in like manner into living unions—if the local unions do not co-operate throughout the country, the result to it must be powerlessness and submission to many wrongs that might easily be done away with.

ALL THE ENGINERY OF POWER IN THE BALLOT.

If we have reached the time in which, besides promulgating our principles by the word, we must undertake to establish them as the law of the community and as the government of the republic, it is of the utmost consequence that we take far-reaching views, mark well our ways, adopt the course most advantageous, and advance with reason, courage, harmony, and momentum.

Let us energize the resources of the ballot, and let us demonstrate their all-sufficiency. The fecundity of the ballot, the sovereign endowment of the ballot, has not yet been fully apprehended by those whose benefit it must now be made to subserve, and against whose rights it has heretofore been turned. If there was a "speech in the belly" of the old Nebraska bill, there is a world in the belly of the ballot. The Government and its enginery are in the belly of the ballot; *there* are the legislation and the laws of the country; *there* are its Congress and its President; there are its revenues and its treasury;

there are the departments of administration; there are its courts and their judgments; there are the army and the navy; there are its arsenals; there, in short, are all the powers and all the means by which the affairs of the country are directed. All these we can wield by winning the mastery of the ballot; and then it will be ours to show how they can be made to promote the public welfare.

THE RECORD OF "LAW."

What is this thing that arrogates to itself the title of *law*, the records of which are foul with wrong, the hands of which are red with the world's best blood, the administrators of which were so perfectly described by Zephaniah, the Hebrew prophet, who said, "The judges are wolves, gnawing the bones"—which has supported every powerful culprit and every incorporate monstrosity—which poisoned Socrates, slew the Gracchi, strangled Savonarola, beheaded Vane, burned Servetus, hanged John Brown—ay, crucified the young Galilean himself—the devices of which are the scourge, the rack, the wheel, the stake, the gibbet, the cross, and every invention of torture?

Who are these beloved felons at law, arrayed in white, for they are worthy, their names effulgent in the sky, burnishing the dull world? How many of the apostles and prophets of the ages have fallen victims to the fraud misnamed law? The world is to-day as busily engaged as ever it was in sacrificing them.

But, my hearers, this will not last forever. As Samsor in his death brought down the temple of Dagon, so every martyr hastens the end of the system under which he is sacrificed.

NEITHER TO WHINE NOR THREATEN.

This is not a country where the men who own it and have the power to rule it need to beg, or whine, or threaten.

We assert the rights of human nature and of democratic citizenship—our rights as natives of the world and as masters of the State—a State founded upon the right to life, liberty, and happiness. We are here to proclaim the duties and seek relief from the wrongs of mankind; to give encouragement on one hand, warning on the other.

DANGER IN THE AIR.

I never make predictions or threats. But think ye that the rampant deviltry now enthroned in our country can be permitted forever to make havoc with the life of man? Think ye it will ever surrender its power without a struggle of ferocity and despair?

THE ALARM.

Our Government is in the hands of pirates. All the power of politics, and of Congress, and of the administration is under the control of the moneyed interests. The "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence are trampled under foot. The Government has been transmogrified. Is liberty compatible with the existence of these famished millions amid these over-gorged millionaires?

PLUCK.

Pluck is apt to be the winner, if it has a show. Pluck is the word for the prize-ring and for this world, and for the

new political forces of our country. Nine times out of ten, the man of pluck will beat the man of trick or the man of luck. If two "sluggers" of equal pluck try conclusions, the one of them with other advantages will win; but in the ordinary run of life the man of pluck and solid sense has in him the hard stuff that tells. Every one of the 12,000 who saw the champion Sullivan when he first caught sight of the bulky frame of Slade, the Maori whom he was to fight, or watched his action during the battle, knows that it was as much by superior and aggressive pluck as by "science" that he conquered. In "taking the initiative," he sprang upon his prey like a young tiger, and, in prosecuting operations till his foe was finally prostrate, the victorious quality shone like phosphorous upon his naked body.

Pluck is the word for the new political forces. Timidity in their direction or application is nullification of their power. In the business soon to be undertaken, we must have no shrinking or shirking. They are poor things to display in a democratic country, before a people whose traditions cover them with scorn.

The history of the old American abolitionists is a history of pluck, and so is that of the Revolutionists of Seventy-six. Elsewhere the same thing is seen in the action of the Anti-Corn-Law Englishmen; in that of the Irish Land Leaguers; that of the French Democracy for a hundred years; that of the Garibaldians from Marsala to Rome, and that of the Juarezians of Mexico. These men won through pluck what they could not win without it. Yet let us not forget the men of perfect pluck who have lost.

Pluck, I repeat, under the direction of sound sense, is the watchword of the new political forces, pluck in the

adoption of stalwart principles, pluck in the proclamation of them, pluck in taking a public stand for them, pluck in sacrificing selfish ends on their altar, pluck in organizing to maintain them, pluck in the handling of means to secure them pluck in action on their behalf, and pluck in their enforcement.

With plenty of pluck behind them, the new political forces will yet do their work in our country.

THE GIGANTIC STRUGGLE—THE ARRAY OF FORCES.

There is no use of belittling the impending struggle for which the new forces must soon prepare. It cannot be made light or easy ; it cannot be won by "loud cheering." There is too much at stake on both sides for that.

It is as weakening to indulge in the notion that the adversary will be easily driven from the field as in the notion that the issues at stake are of slight account. It keeps you from taking the necessary steps to success, and leads to discouragement when the difficulties of the work are brought to view. The commander who underestimates the resources of his enemy is beaten in advance.

The adversary is not to be easily frightened. It is not worth while to make faces at him. He has been through too many hard campaigns, he has carried too many fields to care for fanfaronade.

The adversary won't let you make the work light. He has too much to lose or to win. He has too hard a grip on things. He knows too well what failure would mean. He is full of audacity, the triple audacity which Mirabeau said was the price of victory.

The tremendous forces under his control are the ground of his audacity. He has the force of capital,



J. V. POWDERLY.

thousands of millions of which are in his hand. He has the force of his mercenaries, hundreds of thousands of whom are at his beck. He will grasp the knife of law, which he has so often wielded in his interest. He will lay hold of his forces in the legislature. He will make use of his forces in the press, which are always waiting for the wink which is as good as a nod to a blind horse.

These are his forces, and others not seen in the daylight. These things are to be confronted when the new political agencies take the field.

It is not at all discouraging; for on this side, under our political system, are forces before which his are "but as the reed before the weaver's beam."

All that is necessary to put an end to any combination against popular rights is that the mighty forces of democracy be brought into full play by determined men.

The miscreants feel that there is danger ahead. Multitudes of people will not forever live in squalor and drudgery while these stupendous fortunes are piled up by hook or by crook;—farmers under mortgages while speculators fatten, craftsmen and toilers under the iron law of wages in competition with machinery, everybody but the few under hard lines in a land of plenty,—gloomy lives under glorious skies,—these things cannot last always.

Danger ahead? Of course there is. Danger is always ahead when wrong is at hand, and explosions always take place, from time to time, when suffering becomes intolerable.

Crack goes the earthquake, and the Hebrew slaves stride out of Egypt as Pharaoh sinks in the Red Sea.

Crack it goes again, and the agrarians of Rome seize their short swords.

Crack again, and the serfs of Germany and Hungary carry terror before them through the Peasant wars.

Crack once more, and the fires of the French revolution give dread to monarchs.

Crack goes the earthquake, here or there, now and then, again and again, the wide world over. Heedless are men, after the terror of each crack, till they are stirred again by the alarm of the next.

But what of our own beloved country? Well, the founders of our Government established a political system that provided for the removal of every wrong by means that are majestic in their plainness and power, means that are peaceful, serviceable on every occasion, suitable to all circumstances, and applicable at any time.

Is this system a failure? Are these its proper fruits that we see when we look around us and stand appalled at the growth of moral gangrene in our industrial state, our society, and our politics?

The system of the founders would not be a failure if fully applied in the integrity of its own nature, and adapted to the immense changes that are being brought about in the push and whirl of the age. If it be not thus applied and adapted by the people—if means be not taken to reach the festering wrongs of the times, we shall surely yet behold things that will make the evil-doers quake.

THE TIME HAS COME.

The time has come when our ever-busy country must take hold of new questions. The American people have always had some great work in hand, and have always got through it in one way or another. First we had the

pioneer business of strife and struggle, which moved Westward as the country was opened up. Then we had the business of Revolution, through which Independence was won; then the establishment of our political liberties under a constitutional system; then the purchase of Louisiana, and the war with England for freedom of the seas; then the consolidation and development of democratic institutions. Then came the war with Mexico, the extension of our dominions to the Pacific, and the days of the California Argonauts. Then we had the long debate over slavery, which culminated in the gigantic war of sections and the triumph of abolitionism. We had the flush days of the American marine, of railroad building, of industrial expansion, and of all the novel enginery and inventions of mechanism. After the civil war came the adjustments that were made necessary by it.

New questions touching the life, liberty, and happiness of the whole people have since then been coming up. They bear upon the changing aspect of society and industry.

We have seen strange sights within recent years.

In our land of plenty, we have seen millions of people passing into the valley of hardscrabble.

In our busy land, we see a million men and women looking vainly for work.

In our land of workers, we see wages forever tending to the level of slavery.

In our land, that offers welcome to all mankind, we see the growth of a horde of paupers, beggars, and tramps.

In our land, where all men are said to be born equal, we see the upspringing of a ruling class of millionaires.

In our land of free soil, we see the people's heritage falling into the hands of rack-renting landlords.

Under our Constitution, that prohibits special privileges, we see privileged corporations all over the land.

In our Congress and our Legislatures, established as agencies of popular power, we see capital holding the reins and running the machine.

All around and in all quarters we see the invasions of enemies who become more relentless with each successive conquest, who strengthen their bulwarks with every passing year, who are entrenched before all the strongholds that the people built for their own defence, and who will never leave the ground, or any part of it, until they are driven off by forces stronger than their own.

All these new features of American life can be brought under one head, into a single question,—that of the proper use of our country's resources, the proper distribution of our public products, the proper enforcement of popular rights. The details will settle themselves easily enough when once the question is earnestly taken up.

It is the question before the American people which cannot be shirked. As I have already said, the American people have always had some great work in hand, from the old days of pioneering and revolutionism to the later times of abolitionism and reconstruction. They worked their way through them all. When they take hold of the new question they will work their way through that, somehow or other.

It is about time to begin. Every year of delay it will be harder and more dangerous.

THE OLD AND THE NEW.

Old things are passing away; all things are becoming new. The world is whirling in these times.

We see the work of the stupendous agencies of modern mechanism, the fierce transforming forces of steam and electricity, the daily novelties of science, and the impact of concentrated capital.

We see man writhing under these things while knowing that they ought to be put to his service, and that the evils which have grown up with them should be swept out of his way. The forces of nature, of mechanism, and of capital are all friendly and advantageous to man, when properly used.

We see the franchises of public right undermined without protest. Here are formidable individuals and corporations usurping, legally or otherwise, the proper functions of the State, seizing the public property, and turning to their own aggrandizement the things that by nature and by justice are for the common good. These formidable usurpers prosecute their schemes in defiance of such laws as we have, and of the public welfare, and of the destructive effects of their action.

We see, as the fruits of these things, the growth of a false and ruinous state of industry and society, for the relief of which no adequate provision has been made by any existing legislation. Here are multitudes and millions of impoverished toilers confronted by powerful agencies with which they have felt unable to cope, and looking to the future, in which these things must attain still greater predominance, with an apprehension that is destructive to the very springs of their life. Here, on the other side, is an awkward squad of all-devouring millionaires, some of whom are hundred-millionaires. This is not the genuine purpose of our government, or the order of democratic manhood.

In our country we must have no powers not of the people, no corporations adverse to their welfare, no body

of persons with privileges denied to others ; but one great American community we must have, with equal rights, under fair play. This fact is the foundation of the Republic, the groundwork of the Constitution, the living principle of American politics, the first law of democracy, the fundamental and unchangeable feature of our country.

It is time to make a struggle for the Declaration of Independence, the self-evident and everlasting truths of which are being overwhelmed by the tides of plutocracy. It is time to proclaim again its true and original purposes, to apply them to institutions and legislation, to enforce them upon all men and every man.

THERE IS NO CURE-ALL—THE FIRST THING TO BE DONE.

For the growing distractions of the times there is no cure-all at hand. There is no patent pill to scour the system of the evils that have been hardening in it and that are now bringing alarm to many minds.

I have friends not a few, some of them, I fear, taken in by quackery, who are always ready to tell what ought to be done, even when the mortal agony is drawing near. They keep, all ready for immediate use, an engine of anti-monopoly, or a scheme of finance, or a method of land reform, or a project of taxation, or a plan of organization, or a trade-mark, or a system of profit-sharing, or a grand combination between the sheltering arms of charity and the flaming sword of the moral law.

Get our great panacea, they say, into full working order ; give it a practical show on trial ; let the whole community take it in and carry it out, while they stand shoulder to shoulder in the ranks ; then all will be well, and the dance can begin.

Now, I have not a doubt that, in many of these things, there is, as it were, a grain of mustard seed growing hard by the river of life, and I am always glad to see them brought to the front by the men who wholly believe in them.

But yet I speak for one man in saying that I should not think it worth while to enter upon the dangerous duty of confronting the great public wrongs of the times, if there were any quick or easy way of dealing with them, any cure-all for putting them to right; or if, by any act of legerdemain, any sleight-of-hand, the old 'and deadly abominations that are deepening their foundations and raising their battlements in our American society could be overthrown.

It is a harder business than some of these enthusiastic reformers have laid out; it is a longer work than some of them imagine it to be; it will lead through ways more devious than can be foreseen; it must be based upon ideas more comprehensive than those often presented to mankind; it must be undertaken by men who feel all the seriousness of the situation.

We can but take hold of the facts to-day; we can begin to grapple with them to-morrow; we must bring the forces together; we must get ready for service during the winter; we must prepare for the duties of next year; we must strengthen our hearts against the coming times, and hold out until the day is won—won under the flag of our country, in the peaceful ways of the Constitution.

These words are practical, and the purpose of them is practical. There is to be no attempt to build structures that are raised to topple.

What, then, is the first thing to be done? There can be no doubt as to what it is, when you look at the circumstances.

The agencies of power are in the enemy's hands. He controls Congress and the legislatures, the fountains of law. His are the administration and all its institutions. His are the officers of State and their authority. In his hands are the springs that move the whole of the machinery of the commonwealth,—and *commonwealth*, by the way, is a deep old word, full of suggestion, and well worth thinking of.

The first thing, then, to be done is evident. The agencies of power must be wrested from the enemy's hands, wrested from the plutocracy, the monopolists, the corporations, the governing millionaires, and the lobbyists who are their tools. We must choose representatives who will block their fraudulent games and thwart their schemes of aggrandizement. Then we can make a beginning of the work that is to be undertaken. Until this is done, nothing can be properly done.

No paltering with principles; no dickering with the enemy; nothing of the nature of jerrymandering must we have.

THE SUPERHUMAN BRASS-WORKERS.

Extract from Speech before the Brass-Workers' Union.

Were Tubal-Cain, the first of brass-workers, or were one of those old Carthaginian or Roman brass-workers, to visit any of the big brass-working establishments of our times, the main thing of surprise to him would doubtless be the *machinery* now used in the business. He would find that the great superhuman brass-workers are steam-driven machines; that the mortal brass-workers are, in large measure, but operators of machinery; that the mechanism is as delicate and intricate as it is power-

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BURNING TRUSTLE, NEAR WORSHIP TALK GROUNDS, CHICAGO.

ful; that the machines in operation will do all sorts of work and turn out all kinds of things, taking the crude material and carrying it from stage to stage until it finally appears as any one of ten thousand useful or artistic articles of brass; and that the whirling machinery can produce brazen goods till the markets are deluged with them.

This a thing for your serious consideration, as it affects your practical interests, and must continue to affect them more and more as further inventions are brought into play. It is an inevitable thing.

The mechanical advance in all trades is the chief feature of modern industry. Everywhere we see it. Everywhere the machine is taking the place of man; everywhere mechanism is driving mechanics to the wall. It is time for them to begin to think what they will do *at the wall!*

The active machinery of the United States can do more work than the whole population of the globe a century ago could do in the same time.

It were easy to give, from all the chief industries, a thousand illustrations of the preceding remarks* by going into the great manufacturing establishments. The iron and steel-workers of Pittsburg can, upon short notice, supply enginery of greater power than all the forces under man's command at the beginning of our century. And we shall have yet far more potent enginery. There is such enormous profit to the inventors and controllers of labor-saving machines that thousands of the shrewdest minds are constantly in cogitation over them.

I warn ye that, if ye do not prepare to meet the new state of things, it will surely go hard with ye!

* See Chapter I. of this book.

"What are you going to do about it?" That is the question before the workers of America. I guess you will have to do something pretty soon. The owners and managers of the globe, also, must quickly take account of the industrial transformation which is in progress.

I hear that the greatly increased production through machinery of the necessities and goods of life must inure to the advantage of mankind; that as supplies are more abundant the consumers must be better off, and that while things are produced with less labor they must be the more readily procured by the people. Truly, this ought to be so; and yet, with all the gigantic producing powers of the age in full activity, we see multitudes in perpetual straits, and are forever hearing of the hard times for the laboring masses.

The reason is that this machinery is operated for private profit, not for the public benefit. It ought to be operated by the people for their own benefit, not for the enrichment of their masters.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

The new democracy must stand for principles and policies more comprehensive and far-reaching than those of the old plundering parties. It must assert, distinctly and directly, the fundamental rights and interests of that vast army which a South Carolina politician once called the "mud-sills of society." These rights and interests are not only ignored by the ruling rings; but they have been so grossly assailed for such a length of time that their very life is imperiled. The political rings exist for the advantage of the moneyed classes, the corporate

monopolies, the capitalized factors of our so-called civilization, which never favor any policy that is not adopted or demand any legislation that is not enacted, though it be to the detriment of the industrial populace or in violation of the Constitution and the public liberties. The shackled masses seem powerless against the rings, which are managed by skilful and unscrupulous political gamblers, who possess plenteous means of every kind and who, in their own lingo, can "lay the pipes" and "pull the wires," and "grease the wheels" of the "machine" by which the populace are at once controlled and crushed. Under the circumstances, self-defence on your part is more than a duty; it is a virtue.

I would that the idea of class politics might be wholly tabooed in our country; but we already have that kind of politics, in the worst sense of the word. I am told that it is absurd to get up a party in the interest of labor; but is it not far more absurd to keep up two parties in the interest of domineering capital? Moreover, it may be taken for granted that if a party which favored labor once showed that it was powerful, it would not for long be made up exclusively of the so-called "working class." Men of all sorts and sizes would crowd into it, and if they conscientiously accepted its principles, and strove unreservedly to promote its objects they ought to be welcomed.

When Jefferson announced the "self-evident truths," he laid the foundations of the new movement, and when Lincoln announced "by the people," he strengthened the foundations. It is impossible to sustain a republic upon any other. It cannot be sustained upon the Money Power, while it devours the country that is nourished by the worker's blood.

The plutocrats fear the aspiring "mud-sills," who, according to them, are always wrong in everything and never right in anything. The plutocrats tell us that the "mud-sills" must be "put down," as though it were possible to get some of them any farther down than they are already.

But the theory of American institutions is that the commonalty are fit and competent to carry on the work of government and of self-government; and certainly, if they are "not to be trusted, these institutions must go by the board." We know that if the commonalty could not do things better than the skilled sharpers who run the politics of most of our States, they would find it hard to do them worse.

Let us assert the rights of human nature and American citizenship. Let us demonstrate the power of the industrial masses, who have been defrauded and bamboozled until at last they are regarded as a mere plaything for political gamblers. We all know their wrongs. We see that in this noble and fertile country of ours they are constantly falling lower, while a small but compact and determined class of capitalists and monopolists are destroying the sources of popular prosperity.

We must not permit this ruinous state of things to continue. We believe the accumulating wrongs can be righted. We must make an effort to secure the common salvation.

The masses will never have their interests attended to while they neglect them. They will never get their rights till they take them—take them in the way provided by our organic law.

In this world people rarely obtain anything worth having, if they are too lazy to seize it with their stout right hands!

THE STEERAGE PASSENGERS—NEW YORK, 1880.

I rejoice over every attempt of the working masses to recover their rights from the political pirates now on deck. These pirates have driven the people into the steerage and nailed down the hatches, while they themselves are carrying on their deviltries above at the cost of the victims below. They would rather scuttle the ship than let it go out of their hands, and they would rather butcher the crew than tolerate the first sign of mutiny. But, for all that, it yet happens that *they are in the power of the steerage*, which, strange to say, is able to paralyze their hands at will by its vote.

The workers of the shops and the fields can elect Presidents and Congressmen, Governors and Mayors, can control every State Legislature, and fill Congress with their actual and proper representatives.

They have it in their power to enact and enforce such laws, local and national, of any kind, on every subject, as may seem to them necessary to secure their rights, succor their interests, and promote their welfare.

They can, by the simplest means, rescue themselves from the moneyed monster, with its hundred heads, which is gorging itself on them, and they can, by merely exercising their will, obtain security against the maleficent forces which now and here are working out their destruction.

Yet here they have hardly any political representation in the true sense of that phrase, and they can rarely ever obtain any legislation demanded in their name or their behalf, however just it may be, or however urgently needed. They have got into the way of electing men who misrepresent them, and who return blows for the ballots by which they are elected. When I visited the

State Legislature some time ago, I found that they had no voice there. Railroad corporations had a swarm of representatives, and so had banking, manufacturing, insurance, and ecclesiastical corporations, and all other capitalized interests; but there did not seem to be a member of the body who had been elected to represent the people. When any moneyed interest appeared to be endangered in any way, a score of members were ready to spring up in its defence, but when man as man, or the American citizen as such, was wronged or menaced, not a voice was raised in his behalf.

It is the workingmen themselves who are responsible for this ruinous state of things, and for all the direful woes which they suffer on account of it.

They must somehow or other seize the agencies of legislation and of power which have been turned against them; they must organize their palsied potentiality; they must secure genuine representation; they must show their determination to make this truly a "government of the people, by the people, for the people."



A VOICE FROM THE TOMB

WENDELL PHILLIPS, THOUGH DEAD, YET
SPEAKETH.

HE TOOK LABOR'S SIDE.

Even before the close of his long crusade against negro chattel slavery, and while yet the skies were filled with the smoke of the battlefield, my old friend, Wendell Phillips (who died in 1884), foresaw the approach of another volcanic question which would test the judgment and courage of the American people. He had been led to look into the labor question by thinking of the social and industrial features of our old slave system, and his first utterances on the subject gave proof of the far-reaching nature of the ideas he had formed. In 1870 he began to take part in the labor movement; in October of 1871, in the Music Hall of Boston, he made a terrific arraignment of capitalists and a comprehensive display of the demands of the workers; and in April of 1872, in Boston, he delivered the speech herewith printed before the International Grand Lodge of the Knights of St. Crispin. Every reader will see how it glows with truth. As a matter of course, the capitalist press carefully shunned all such speeches of Mr. Phillips; but it happens that a copy of this one is in my possession. On advancing to the platform he was greeted with applause, and spoke thus:

GENTLEMEN :

I feel honored by this welcome. I stand in the presence of a momentous power. I do not care exactly what your idea is as to how you will work, whether you will work in this channel or in the other. I am told that you represent from 70,000 to 100,000 men, here and elsewhere. Think of it! A hundred thousand men! They can dictate the fate of the country. [Applause.] Give me 50,000 men in earnest, who can agree on vital questions, who will plant their shoulders together, and swear by all that is true that for the long years they will put their great idea before the country, and those 50,000 men will win. You cannot marshal 50,000 men at once, taken promiscuously; they must be trained to work together—must be disciplined in co-operation, and it is the training and the discipline which the workingmen get in these organizations that have enabled the labor movement to assume its proportions so rapidly. If I have 100,000 men represented before me, who are in earnest, who get hold of the great question of labor, and having hold of it, grapple with it, rip it open, invest it with light, gathering the facts, piercing the brains about them, and crowding those brains with the facts, then I know, sure as fate, though I may not live to see it, that *they will certainly conquer this nation in twenty years*. It is impossible that they should not. That is your power, gentlemen. [Applause.]

WORKINGMEN OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

I rejoice at every effort workingmen make to organize; I do not care on what basis they do it. Men sometimes say to me: "Are you an Internationalist?" I say: "I do not know what an Internationalist is," but they tell me it is a system by which the workingmen from London to Gibraltar, from Moscow to Paris, from Copenhagen to Boston, can clasp hands. Then I say, God speed to that or any similar movement.



P. F. W. & C. R. R. AT 50TH STREET, CHICAGO.

Now, let me tell you where the great weakness of an association of workingmen is. It is that it cannot wait. It does not know where it is to get its food for next week. If it is kept idle for ten days the funds of the society are exhausted. Capital can fold its arms and wait six months; it can wait a year. It will be poorer, but it does not get to the bottom of the purse. It can afford to wait; it can tire you out, and starve you out. And what is there against that immense preponderance of power on the part of capital? Simply organization. *That makes the wealth of all the wealth of every one.* [Applause.] So I welcome organization. I do not care whether it calls itself trades-union, Crispin, international, or commune; anything that masses up a unit in order that they may put in a united force to face the organization of capital; anything that does that, I say amen to it. One hundred thousand men! It is an immense army. I do not care whether it considers chiefly the industrial or the political question; it can control the land if it is in earnest. The reason why the Abolitionists brought the nation down to fighting their battle is that they were really in earnest, knew what they wanted, and were determined to have it. Therefore they got it. The leading statesmen and orators of the day said they would never urge abolition, but a determined man in a printing office said that they should, and—then they did it.

So it is with this question. Brains govern this country, and I hope the time will never come when brains won't govern it, for they ought to. And the way in which you can compel the brains to listen and attend to you on the question of labor, actually to concentrate the intellectual power of the nation upon it, is by gathering together by hundreds of thousands, no matter whether it be on an industrial basis or a political basis, and say to the nation: "We are the numbers and we will be heard," and you may be sure that you will. Now, an Englishman has but one method to pursue to be heard. He

puts his arm up among the cog-wheels of the industrial machine and stops it. That is a strike. The London *Times* looks down and says: "What in heaven is the matter?" That is just what the man wants; he wishes to call public attention to the facts, and the consequence is that every newspaper joins with the *Times*, and asks what is the matter, and the whole brain of the English nation is turned to consider the question. That is good, but we have a quicker way than that. We do not need to put our hands up among the cog-wheels and stop the machine. Pierrepont said of the little ballot:

It executes the freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God.

[Applause.] Now I turn my sight that way because I am a democrat, a Jeffersonian democrat in the darkest hour. I admire democracy because it takes bonds on wealth and power that they shall raise the masses. If they don't do it there is no security. Therefore, on every great question I turn instantly to politics. It is the people's normal school; it is the way to make the brains of the nation approach the subject. Why, in 1861 or 1862, when I first approached this question, you could not get an article on the labor movement in any newspaper or magazine, unless, indeed, there was a strike, or something of that sort. Now you cannot take up any of the leading newspapers or magazines without finding it. The question is so broad; it has so many different channels that it puzzles them. Even John Stuart Mill has not attempted to cover its whole breadth—it takes in everything.

WHY HE TOOK UP THE LABOR QUESTION.

Let me tell you why I am interested in the labor question. Not simply because of the long hours of labor; not simply because of a specific oppression of a class. I sympathize with the sufferers there; I am ready to fight on their side. But I look out upon Christendom, with its 300,000,000 of people,

and I see that out of this number of people 100,000,000 never had enough to eat. Physiologists tell us that this body of ours, unless it is properly fed, properly developed, fed with rich blood, and carefully nourished, does no justice to the brain. You cannot make a bright or a good man in a starved body, and so this one-third of the inhabitants of Christendom, who have never had food enough, can never be what they should be. Now, I say that the social civilization which condemns every third man in it to be below the average in the nourishment God prepared for him, did not come from above, but from below; and the sooner it goes down the better. Come on this side of the ocean. You will find 40,000,000 of people, and I suppose they are in a state of civilization; and yet it is not too much to say that out of that forty millions, ten millions at least, who get up in the morning and go to bed at night, spend all the day in the mere effort to get bread enough to live. They have not elasticity enough, mind or body left, to do anything in the way of intellectual or moral progress.

Now, I say that the civilization that has produced this state of things in nearly the hundredth year of the American Republic did not come from above.

I believe in the temperance movement. I am a temperance man of nearly forty years' standing, and I think it one of the grandest things in the world, because it holds the basis of self-control. Intemperance is the cause of poverty, I know; but there is another side to that; poverty is the cause of intemperance. Crowd a man with long hours of work, and you crowd him down to mere animal life. You have eclipsed his aspirations, dulled his tastes, stunted his intellect, and made him a mere tool to work; and while a man in a hundred will rise high, ninety-nine will cower down under the circumstances.

LIFT A MAN.

That is why I say, lift a man; give him life; let him work eight hours a day; give him the school; develop his taste for

music ; give him a garden ; give him beautiful things to see and good books to read, and you will starve out those lower appetites. Give a man a chance to earn a good living, and you may save his life. So it is with women in prostitution. Poverty is the road to it ; it is this that makes them the prey of the wealth and the leisure of another class. Give a hundred men in this country good wages and eight hours work, and ninety-nine will disdain to steal ; give a hundred women a good chance to get a living, and ninety-nine of them will disdain to barter their virtue for gold. You will find in our criminal institutions to-day a great many men with big brains who ought to have risen in the world—perhaps gone to Congress. [A laugh.] You laugh, but I tell you the biggest brains don't go to Congress. Tom Scott, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, with \$350,000,000 in his hands—why, when he walks East the very flutter of his garments shake down the legislatures. Now, take a hundred criminals—ten of them will be smart men ; but take the remainder, and eighty of them are below the average, body and mind ; they were, as Charles Lamb said, never brought up ; they were dragged up. They never had any fair chance ; they were starved in body and mind. It is like a chain—weak in one link—the moment temptation came, it went over. Now, just so long as you hold two-thirds of this nation on a narrow, superficial line, you feed the criminal classes.

Any man that wants to grapple the labor question must know how you will secure a fair division of production. No man answers that question.

THE ONLY HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY.

I hail the labor movement for two reasons, and one is that it is my only hope for democracy. At the time of the anti-slavery agitation I was not sure whether we should come out of the struggle with one republic or two, but republics I knew we should still be. I am not so confident, indeed, that we shall come out of this storm as a republic, unless the labor move-

ment succeeds. Take a power like the Pennsylvania Central Railroad and the New York Central road, and there is no legislative independence that can exist in its sight. As well expect a green vine to flourish in a dark cellar as to expect honesty to exist under the shadow of those upas trees. Unless there is a power in your movement, industrially and politically, the last knell of democratic liberty in this Union is struck; for, as I said, there is no power in a State to resist such a giant as the Pennsylvania road. We have thirty-eight one-horse Legislatures in this country, and we have got a man like Tom Scott, with \$350,000,000 in his hands, and if he walks through the States they have no power. Why, he need not move at all. If he smokes, as Grant does, a puff of the waste smoke out of his mouth upsets the Legislature.

RALLY FOR SOMETHING.

Now, there is nothing but the rallying of men against money that can contest with that power. Rally industrially, if you will; rally for eight hours, for a little division of profits, for co-operation; rally for such a banking power in the Government as would give us money at three per cent.

Only organize and stand together. [Applause.] Claim something together and at once; let the nation hear a united demand from the laboring voice, and then, when you have got that, go for another; but get something.

I say, abolish the bank, and let the Government lend every Illinois farmer (if he wants it), who is now borrowing money at ten per cent., money on the half value of his land at three per cent. The same policy that gave a million acres to the Pacific Railroad, because it was a great national effort, will allow of our lending Chicago twenty millions of money at three per cent. to rebuild it. [Applause.]

THE ONLY QUESTION.

From Boston to New Orleans, from Mobile to Rochester, from Baltimore to St. Louis, we have now but one purpose,

and that is, having driven all other political questions out of the arena, the only question left is labor—the relations of capital and labor. The night before Charles Sumner left Boston for Washington, the last time, he said to me: “I have just one thing more to do for the negro, and after that I shall be at liberty to take up the question of labor.”

DO YOUR DUTY.

If you do your duty, and by that I mean standing together and being true to each other, all the elections you will decide. Every election you may decide as you please.

If you want power in this country, if you want to make yourselves felt, if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have—if you don't want to wait yourselves, write on your banner, so that every political trimmer can read it, so that every politician, no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it: “We never forget! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget. You may go down on your knees and say, ‘I am sorry I did the act,’ and we will say, ‘It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never.’” So that a man in taking up the labor question will know he is dealing with a hair-trigger pistol, and will say, “I am to be true to justice and to man, otherwise I am a dead duck.” [Great applause.]

ANOTHER FAR-REACHING SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Twenty-three years ago, or on the 7th of December, 1871, Wendell Phillips delivered a labor speech in New York City, and here are some of the passages of it:

As I look down the years that are coming, and descry the harvests of our own institutions in their growth, I feel very gravely the vast importance—I might almost say the terrible significance—of this labor question. You ask me to speak to you on the relations of capital and labor. I am a capitalist. Why do I come here? Because I am gravely dissatisfied with the civilization around me. I shrink from so large a word as that. Civilization is in seeming large and generous in some of its results; but, at the same time, hidden within are ulcers that confront social science and leave it aghast. The students of social science, in every meeting that gathers itself, in every debate and discussion, confess themselves at their wits' end in dealing with the great social evils of the day. Nobody that looks into the subject but recognizes the fact that the disease is very grave and deep. The superficial observer does not know of the leak in the very body of the ship, but the captain and crew are suffering the anticipation of approaching ruin.

Stretch out your gaze over the civilized world. All over the world one-half of Christendom starves, either bodily or mentally. That is no exaggeration. Even in this country one-half of the people have never enjoyed the resources of this life. Take your city, and go down into the very slums of existence, where human beings by the thousand live year in and year out in dwellings which no man in Fifth avenue would trust his horse in for twelve hours. I have known men who were intemperate in Boston cured by being sent to Paris. Why? Because in the brighter life, the more generous stimulant, the great variety of interest in the European capital, he found something that called out his nobler nature, starved out his appetites. So it is with the intemperance of a nation; and to cure it you must supplement their life with the stimulus of the soul. [Applause.] I will take the social spectre that confronts social science the world over. Everybody who studies the subject will confess that the root from which it

grows is that the poverty of one class makes it the victim of the wealth of another.

I take the thermometer of the price of English wheat for the last century and place beside it the thermometer of crime, and I find as the wheat goes up or down the crime increases or diminishes. [Applause.] The great majority of the human race stands just on the edge of necessity. Has the classic genius of Greece and Rome, and the common sense of the Saxon race, given us nothing better than these apples of Sodom for the golden fruit of Paradise? One-quarter of the human race lives in ease and the other three-fourths contribute to it without sharing it. If that is the end of human existence, let us sit down and blaspheme the God who made us. [Applause.]

I am ashamed of the civilization which makes 5,000 needy men dependent on one. The system which develops this is faulty in its very foundation. [Applause.]

You say, why find fault with civilization? To-night is a cold night, and you will go home to parlors and chambers warmed with the coal of our mines. Why don't you have coal for \$2.00 or \$3.00 a ton? Why don't you have it here at an advance of \$1.00 over what it costs at the mouth of the pit? Because of the gigantic corporations and vast organizations of wealth. The capitalists gather three or four millions of tons in your city—sell it when they please, at such rates as they please, and the poor man, struggling for his bread, is the sufferer.

A rich man is careful; he won't put his foot in any farther than allows of its being pulled back. If he heard a groan from the people at something he did, he would withdraw his investment, for nothing is more timid than wealth. But let that man take \$100,000 or so and put it in with nine others and make a corporation with a capital of \$1,000,000—then he is as bold as Julius Cæsar. He will starve out 13,000 coal miners. The London *Spectator* says that the colossal strength



PANHANDLE R. R. AT 59TH STREET, CHICAGO

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of Britain has reason to dread the jointure of \$456,000,000 of railroad capital. How much more should America have reason to dread such combinations, though Britain has more than ten times our wealth?

Now, gentlemen, you say to me, what do you intend to do? Every man has a different theory, but I have no theory other than this: I know that a wrong system exists, and that the only method in these States of turning the brains of the country to our side is to bring on a conflict and organize a party. [Applause.] If I should ask one of your editors tonight to let me indite an article on labor and capital, very likely he would refuse me, or if he granted it, it might be because my article would sell a copy or two of his papers. But if you will give me 50,000 votes on our side, and the balance impartially divided between your Fentons, and Conklings, and Seymours, I will show you every journal in the city of New York discussing the question with me. Labor is too poor to own a New York journal, but when it comes in the shape of votes, then those same journals cannot afford to disregard it. Now, let us organize it.

The ultimate thing which we aim at is co-operation—where there is no labor as such and no capital as such, where every man is interested proportionately in the results. How will you reach it? Only by grappling with the present organizations of power in the nation. It is money that rivets the chains of labor. If I could I would abolish every moneyed corporation in the thirty States. Yet I am not certain that this would be a wise measure, because it seems that the business of the nineteenth century can hardly be carried on without corporations, but if it be true that facility and cheapness of production are solely to be reached by the machinery of corporations, then, I say, gentlemen, that the statesmanship of the generation is called upon to devise some method by which wealth may be incorporated and liberty saved.

I think in the first place we ought to graduate taxes. If a man has a thousand dollars a year and pays a hundred, the man who has ten thousand a year ought to pay five hundred. I would have a millionaire with forty millions of dollars taxed so highly that he would only have enough to live comfortably upon. In Japan, when a man dies, his land is left to the State. Do you not think that is a wiser plan than ours? The land becomes more valuable through the labor of the whole country, and not by that of the man who eats off it.

Our great hope for the future is in the education of the masses, for they will yet be our rulers. New York stood aghast at the defalcation of millions of dollars, but will you submit to be robbed of hundreds of millions by monopolists? Fifth avenue cannot afford to let the Five Points exist. You cannot get wealth enough to fortify you against discontent within your reach. [Applause.]



IDEAS FROM THE ANTIPODES.

A STATESMAN OF NEW ZEALAND.

Those of the readers of this book who have come to learn that the labor question is what the Germans call a "World-Thing," are aware that it has been taken up and acted upon in the enterprising British colony of New Zealand as nowhere else upon the earth. The measures of labor legislation adopted there within the past few years have been experimental yet progressive, and according to all evidence have been the main cause of the exceptional prosperity of the colony.

A very competent statesman, Hon. W. P. Reeves, is the "Minister of Labor" in the Government of New Zealand, and he has composed an essay upon "Labor Troubles" for the *Review of Reviews*, which is printed by that magazine in its issue for August of 1894. I shall here quote from it some passages :

THE NEW STRUGGLE.

Most of us, when we speak of labor troubles, mean disputes between employers and employed. To these, therefore—albeit they form but one branch of the many evils and sorrows which afflict those who labor with their hands—I shall do my best to keep in the present article. Labor is, of course, heir to numberless ills quite apart from those brought about by industrial conflicts. These struggles, indeed, are

rather the result than the essence of labor troubles. If the lot of the average worker were untroubled, he would not so often think himself driven to throw down the gauntlet to Capital and Fate.

POLITICS.

In the face of all the difficulties with which labor has had to contend progress has been and is being made. The enlargement of the discovered and civilized parts of the earth, trades-unionism, sanitary science, education, and the consequent evolution of a public conscience have for fifty years been ameliorating the lot of the worker. *Last of all has come a new weapon—political power. Imperfectly grasped, dimly understood, much less thoroughly tested, this is the engine that carries his hopes with it.* Furnished with this, the workman trusts to find a new way to meet old foes.

STRIKES.

The history of strikes still remains to be written. One may be permitted to think that, when the work shall be done, it will not be less interesting or valuable than those laborious histories of some of Europe's purposeless national wars which one finds on so many book-shelves. We may hope that the history will be written from a different point of view to that which would probably have been taken ten years ago, or might be taken even now. It is but slowly that the middle classes are coming to see that strikes are anything but the outcome of an unthankful stubbornness of spirit and hardness of heart. Even yet there are probably not many employers who fully recognize that, morally, a strike is neither better nor worse than a reduction of wages or the dismissal of a number of superfluous hands. By that ill-defined but extensive audience, "the general public," a strike is generally voted a nuisance. Like a lock-out a strike is war. As with war it may be justifiable, unavoidable, and even glorious. But of itself it is an evil. At best it is but a bad means of gaining a

good end. And, like war, one of its worst features is the damage done to interests and persons whom neither combatant in the least wants to hurt. The great mining dispute arbitrated upon by Lord Rosebery not only held three hundred thousand fine men idle for many weeks, it not only cost England a sum estimated in millions, but during those long weeks of conflict it kept three-quarters of a million of dependent women and children in a state of unceasing anxiety and intermittent misery. It threw out of work, more or less completely, quite half a million of persons engaged in trade directly affected by the coal strike. It caused eighteen unfortunates to be experimented upon by the new magazine rifles of the British army, and two of them to lose their lives. Finally, it led to that arrangement by arbitration which might and ought to have come about without any such civil war. But to recount the evils incident to strikes is to rehearse a thrice-told tale.

THE ETHICS OF STRIKES.

In the absence of any proper historical summary, we have to dig and delve for the facts of labor disputes in blue-books, magazines, newspapers, and speeches. From such accounts as we thus get, highly-colored and prejudiced as most of them are, we may safely deduce a few governing principles. Of these the most certain seems to be that strikes, though increasing with the organization of labor into unions and federations, tend again to decrease as this organization becomes perfected by trial and experience. Strikes, at their inception, have usually nothing to do with politics; still less are they worked up by that mysterious personage, the political agitator, who looms so large in irate newspaper articles. Political people sometimes concern themselves in strikes from motives more or less worthy, but they scarcely ever appear on the scene until war has broken out;—the part they usually play is that of the amateur conciliator. Seldom is a strike the direct result of political feeling, as in the celebrated French case at

Carmaux. On the other hand, it may sometimes lead to political consequences, as did the Australasian maritime strike, and the battle between the Pinkerton mercenaries and the Homestead strikers at Pittsburg. Formerly the office-bearers in trades-unions were invariably blamed by the partisans of the other side for any strikes in which their unions might engage. But a juster view is now taken, and it is known that a union's officers are often much less eager to plunge into striking than its rank and file. A careful comparison seems to show that the strikes which have the best chance of success are those undertaken by skilled workmen belonging to unions of long standing, owning large accumulated funds. The less skilled the workers are the easier it is to replace them; the poorer they are the sooner they can be starved out. Even wealthy unions have often to depend for success in prolonged conflicts upon subscriptions sent by kindred societies and outside sympathizers. The last source of help was sufficient to enable the most remarkable labor victory of our time to be won by the poorest and most unskilful body of men who ever, perhaps, secured a triumph. I mean, of course, the London dockers.

The violence, which is an unfortunate incident of many labor contests, does not seem to increase in our own times; indeed, the worst labor riots in England occurred in the days of the Georges. Those who fancy that strikes are a thing of to-day might be surprised to hear that in America their course is traceable for 100 years back, and that in England, more than 100 years ago, the pugnacity of the Nottingham frame-makers drove the masters to form an Employers' Association. Trade cant appears to be as old as trade disputes. The best tempered conflicts are those in which the masters are satisfied with closing their works, and either do not attempt to replace the strikers with non-unionists or fail to get applicants for the vacant places. The bringing in of the "blackleg" is the most common cause of breaches of the peace.

WHICH SIDE WINS.

I cannot get trustworthy data as to the proportion that successful or partially successful strikes bear to defeats. But in England the Board of Trade returns estimate that in the two excited years of 1889-90, the proportion in which the work people gained their ends, in whole or part, was about two to one. The probability is that this is an exceptionally bright record. My own conviction is that the workmen's defeats outnumber their victories.

That the indirect or ultimate results of a success are profitable, not only to the men concerned but to their whole class, is, of course, admitted. Yet be it confessed that the cost of strikes, however exaggerated by mercantile pamphleteers, is frightful, their waste deplorable. However heavy a discount we allow off the figures usually quoted as the loss occasioned by the greater strikes they remain serious enough.

A strike or lock-out proves only which side is the stronger, not which is in the right. And this applies not only to the industrial warfare which actually takes place, but to the sulky submission brought about by the dread of it. Employers have yielded to unfair demands simply through fear of the loss entailed by stopping their works. Quite as often unions have not dared to press home fair requests through their inability to face a lock-out or the summary dismissal of their leaders.

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

But however wasteful, cruel, and uncertain we admit the strike to be, what are we to put in its place? What power is to undertake its task? My answer to the first question is—systematic conciliation backed by compulsory arbitration; to the second, the State.

Labor disputes, usually classified into strikes and lock-outs, sometimes partake of the nature of both, and, fortunately, as a rule, do not lead to either. That is to say, the vast majority of the differences between employers and employed never

have, and under no possible system ever will, lead to open rupture. This has to be borne in mind in appreciating the results claimed for the action of voluntary boards of conciliation and arbitration in the manufacturing districts of England. It applies quite as much to the results claimed for the French *Conseils des Prud'hommes*. For instance, we read that the Durham Joint Committee, set up in the coal-mining trade, arranged as many as 390 labor disputes in the year 1881, 493 in the year 1892, and 562 and 629 in the two following years, respectively. In the Northumberland coal trade it was stated, three years ago, that no less than 3,000 disputes had been arranged by joint committees. We read that the French *Conseils des Prud'hommes*, of which there are 140, deal with between 40,000 and 50,000 cases a year. But it would be a delusion to suppose that many of these, for the most part trifling differences, would, but for intervention, have led to a strike or lock-out. It is precisely the greater sort of labor quarrels which forms the problem which distresses philanthropists and perplexes statesmen. It is they which are a menace to enterprise and a disturbance to industry.

Praiseworthy as are voluntary boards of conciliation, we want something more permanent and powerful. Useful as are cheap and informal French tribunals, which embody both the principle of voluntary conciliation and that of compulsory arbitration, they only deal with minor trade disputes. Another step is required.

WHERE VOLUNTARY CONCILIATION FAILS.

Successful as are in many cases the beneficent efforts of an official board of arbitrators, such as that in Massachusetts, established and paid under statute, and therefore endowed with a public status; yet even such a body will often fail just when it is most wanted to succeed, unless it is clothed with real power. The report of the New South Wales Commission on Strikes cited as valuable and pertinent the Newcastle arbitra-



QUELLING THE RIOTS AT 49TH STREET, CHICAGO.

tion agreement, representing "the matured experience of the colliery proprietors and of a compact body of 5,000 coal miners." But the subsequent history of the coal-mining industry is hardly a good advertisement of the good effects of voluntary arbitration agreements. The same report and appendix allude hopefully to the voluntary tribunals set up in Pennsylvania under the "Wallace act." But Pittsburg is in Pennsylvania, and Homestead is a suburb of Pittsburg.

Moreover, speaking of private voluntary conciliation, it is a mistake to suppose that even long-continued success is any guarantee that private trade-boards may not be overthrown or ignored in some sudden gust of temper or excitement. I cannot find that more than five of these trade-conciliation boards have been newly set up since 1889. Yet the British strikes during the last quinquennial period have averaged nearer 900 than 800 a year. The Chambers of Commerce in London, Bristol, and other cities have indeed established general conciliation boards. But, except in the metropolis, they would seem to have done little or nothing. A few similar efforts in the colonies have had the like result.

I must not be understood as wishing to belittle the undoubted usefulness of boards of conciliation. I do but point out that their utility lies chiefly in arranging in a friendly way those minor points of difference which seldom lead to strikes. Nevertheless, he would not be a very acute observer who could not see that it is these same minor points which, left unsettled, occasionally lead step by step to the worst and most embittered conflicts. The causes of some of the most lamentable and heartfelt strikes and lock-outs have been curiously inadequate. Now, not the least of the useful functions of properly conducted boards of conciliation is to bring home to the parties to a dispute what they are fighting for. Another duty is, of course, to get the public to see it too. It can hardly be doubted that if a clear and searching light were thrown soon enough upon the true points of difference between the sus-

picious and irritated disputants, the worst would often be averted. For example, it seems almost inconceivable now that a conflict so stubborn, so fatal in its results, so fruitful of loss to one side and ruin to the other as the famous Homestead strike should have arisen out of such pitifully petty issues. A wretched difference of a single dollar was allowed to precipitate an industrial struggle which became a veritable civil war. Because of it, and because the impatient Mr. Frick, the company's manager, lost his temper at the first conference with his men, and marched out of the room, leaving the workmen to treat with his understrappers, the most mournful and unhappy of American labor wars was rushed into.

I have already shown how unsatisfactory is the result of leaving the parties themselves to be led by their own good sense. That has been earnestly urged and patiently tried for many years in England. What is the outcome? We may sum it up as 4,300 strikes in the last five years. In the United States the picture is even darker. There mercenaries shoot down strikers, unpopular managers are assassinated, the militia has to be called out, unionists are put on trial charged with poisoning blacklegs. Matters are not so bad in Australia.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

One is driven to conclude not that boards of conciliation, unfurnished with legal powers of compulsion, are useless, but that, by themselves, they are incomplete and insufficient. Without compulsion behind them they never can avert the worst class of strikes. Half measures are exactly what has been hitherto the ruin of State intervention in industrial disputes. Thanks to half-heartedness, the English statute book is cumbered with measure after measure, passed only to remain a dead letter. And these benevolent failures have been accurately copied in America and Australia. This much, at any rate, we know, that the party already in power in New Zealand, influential in South Australia, growing rapidly in strength in New South Wales and Queensland, is prepared to substitute arbitration for the tug-of-war, and will not be deterred by neat sarcasms about compulsory conciliation and arbitrary

arbitration. If I know anything of that party, it is not disposed to put up with half measures.

The day is gone by for arguments against the right of the State to intervene in labor disputes or even against the expediency of its doing so. The case for intervention was put so pithily and clearly by the New South Wales Commission on Strikes in 1890 that I need not try to vary their language: "No quarrel should be allowed to fester if either party is willing to accept a settlement by the State tribunal. Industrial quarrels cannot continue without the risk of their growing to dangerous dimensions, and the State has a right in the public interest to call upon all who are protected by the laws to conform to any provision the law may establish for settling quarrels dangerous to the public peace." I scarcely need at this time of day to combat the suggestion once made by a respectable English statesman, that the sole duty of the State in relation to labor quarrels is to "keep the ring." The wisdom of a householder who might allow his family and servants to settle a domestic dispute by smashing the furniture and each other, while he contentedly locked the front door and kept strangers from the door-step, would not impress any one. But it would be about on a par with that of the upholders of absolute non-intervention by the State in the worst class of strikes and lock-outs.

We are told that compulsory arbitration must fail because the arbitrators would be ignorant of the business technicalities of the trades brought into court. But law courts go into such details every day, and with the aid of expert evidence usually contrive to comprehend them. It is objected that no compulsion could force an unwilling master to keep his factory open or men to work unless they chose. Of course not; but a court can affix a penalty to an award and make a recalcitrant owner, or union and its members, pay. Moreover, in these countries people do not defy the law. If it is intolerable they agitate to have it amended, and if it works injustice it is amended. We are assured that business men will not allow a court to regulate their methods of management; but the directors and shareholders of registered companies now constantly submit to the keenest scrutiny of

their affairs and the most searching interference therein by judges. To the objection that an examination by arbitrators of a firm's books cannot be thought of, it may be answered that this applies to voluntary arbitration just as much as the other sort. If it is unreasonable in the one case, it is so in the other. But one of the most useful of the English voluntary boards reports that the repugnance of employers to this inspection has been slowly overcome. We are warned that compulsory arbitration will be resented as an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of the subject. The same has been said of factory acts, truck acts, mining, shop hours, employers' liability, workmen's wages, ten hours acts, *et hoc genus omne*. Yet all these are accepted and obeyed. In the "Ann Arbor" case, an American court forbade boycotting on railways. The other day a judge ordered the servants of the Union Pacific Railway to accept a ten per cent. reduction, and not to strike. I cannot learn that these injunctions caused a civil war.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

As the Australasian democracy comes into its political inheritance, it may be expected to insist on industrial peace for the simple reason that it has so much to suffer through industrial war. As peace without arbitration means surrender, arbitration will be demanded. To those of us who think this experiment inevitable, it seems of more moment to study the methods of making it than to attend to primitive outcries against socialistic interference with the liberty of the subject. Madame Roland's ejaculation, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" is echoed by many a student of our industrial system. Expecting as I do, in the near future, the establishment of industrial arbitration throughout Australasia, I must own to a feeling of pride that this great and noble experiment in the cause of law and order will be the special work of the much-dreaded democracy.

For I hope and believe that the labor party will mark its coming into power by providing legal means to gain industrial justice by orderly and judicial arrangement instead of trial by combat, and will begin its reign by what is in truth a message of peace.

EXTRA-ADDENDA.

A REVOLUTIONARY PROCLAMATION.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,
JULY 4, 1776.

We hold these truths to be self-evident :

That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ; that to secure these rights Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That whenever any Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such a form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

SEARCHING WORDS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Wherever there is in any country uncultivated land and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right.

THE EMANCIPATOR SAID "BEWARE!"

Lincoln said, a few days before his death: "Monarchy is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. I would scarcely be justified were I to omit exercising a warning voice against returning to despotism. It is the effort to place capital above labor in the structure of the Government. I bid the laboring people beware of surrendering a power which they possess. For when it is surrendered their liberty will be lost."

THE CHIEF COUNSEL FOR PRESIDENT
DEBS.HIS VIEW OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE OF THE AMERICAN
RAILWAY UNION.

The political economy of the civilized world is fatal. Governments foster industries, having only national supremacy in view. In their economy they are as neglectful of the individual as in the days of slavery—they leave justice in economics to the morals of masters. They have instituted no fraternal processes. The political economy invariably in practice is the mercantile economy of the eighteenth century.

Fraternity is divine; life is labor; labor is life; we toil that we may live. Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," proved the falsity of the mercantile political economy by proving that "the annual labor of a nation is the source from which it derives its supply of the necessities and conveniences of life." Human Governments still cling to the selfish economy. Labor has long endured the neglect of Government to perceive that a true political economy must be based upon true ethics—

divine ethics. Labor itself has now determined upon the establishment of fraternal principles.

This Government was founded upon principles which should become elastic to the progressive thought and enlightened conscience of free men. It was not founded alone to secure our political liberties. Its mission is also to discover and establish, with constitutional provisions and by just laws, a system of economic freedom which will compel fraternal action in production and in the distribution of the rewards of labor.

The strike of the American Railway Union in 1894 is a warning protest against existing systems of political economy. It has taught the republic that the resistance of the classes to the evolution of free labor is powerless before the peaceful federation of labor. It is a warning to the public to look for national prosperity and safety to God alone, and to follow the light which He gave man.

Can you not hear the rallying cry of all God's poor,
"Fraternity is divine." W. W. ERWIN.

CHICAGO, July, 1894.

LETTER OF THE EDITOR OF THE CHICAGO "TIMES."

THE MASTER OF A POWERFUL PRESS SUSTAINS THE
ACTION OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

The *Times* believes the strike of the Pullman operatives to have been absolutely justifiable. It holds the effort of the American Railway Union to assist these strikers by boycott of the Pullman cars to have been justifiable, under the circumstances. Under existing political and economic conditions, when capital is a unit,

exerting its power for the muzzling of a large portion of the press, for the domination, by methods more or less corrupt, of legislative bodies, and for the lessening of the rewards of labor, the *Times* believes it the wise course of labor to become unified also.

To-day, when the policy of the miscalled Democratic Administration aids, and the existing laws debar, the people from their rights, this paper holds the strike and the boycott the only weapons left to those who have neither land nor capital, but only strong hands and a willingness to work. This strike is worth to the nation ten times what it has cost. It has set the people thinking. It may have widened the breach between capital and labor, but it has helped to unify wage-workers. It has so demonstrated the essentially public character of railroads that the movement for their nationalization has been advanced by ten years in thirty days. It has demonstrated the community of interest between a corporation Democrat and a corporation Republican, and has set the people thinking whether a party label means anything after all. It has shown the Federal Administration aligned on the side of corporations, and has taught the plain folks that if industrial liberty is to be won corporation Presidents must not be elected.

Politically and economically the strike has been worth ten times its cost, and the lesson it has taught will but aid the progress of industrial evolution. That, by merely refraining from service, organized labor cannot defeat consolidated capital is becoming very evident. In political action, by the throwing open to all of all natural opportunities, and by breaking down all trusts, lies the only chance for the wage-worker to receive his just deserts.

WILLIAM PRESTON HARRISON,

CHICAGO, July, 1894.

A POET'S WARNING.

When thou hearest the fool rejoicing,
And he saith, "It is over and past,
And the wrong was better than right, and
Hate turns into love at last,
And we strive for nothing at all,
And the gods are fallen asleep;
For so good is the world agrowing
That the evil good shall reap;"
Then loosen the sword in the scabbard
And settle the helm on thy head,
For men betrayed are mighty,
And great are the wrongfully dead.

—WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE STORM BREWING.

In a speech, July, 1894, Governor Hogg, of Texas, exclaimed: You all know that the Federal troops were ordered into Illinois without being called for by the Governor of that State. It is the first time that this has been done since 1860. I regard it as a fatal blow to State rights. It is the precursor of dire calamity. As soon as I returned home from my Northern trip I wired to headquarters that I would not tolerate the calling out of Federal troops in this State until I had been first consulted. In times of trouble I mean to try the power of the civil authorities first, and until they fail the military power shall not be called on in Texas. Whenever they try it I'll be there to stop them, and, by Gatlings! I'll stick to my ground. I see before me now some of the Generals whose business it will be to defend the Stars and Stripes when the troubles come, not here, but further North and East. I have faith in your nerve and patriotism. The press dispatches have told us that a distin-

exerting its power for the muzzling of a large portion of the press, for the domination, by methods more or less corrupt, of legislative bodies, and for the lessening of the rewards of labor, the *Times* believes it the wise course of labor to become unified also.

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guished jurist has signified his approval of that construction of the Constitution which sees no harm in the hurling of Federal troops across States without regard to the wishes of the civil authorities. Let me tell you that this kind of constitutional construction is the opening of the mine which will hoist the Government off its base. Though the order to invade Illinois was given by a Democratic President, who is the chief of the party to which I belong, my spirit revolts at it. My heart sickens at the thought of the consequences. Many of you will remember, that in looking ahead, I predicted some time ago that we would within the year see California, Colorado, Illinois, and possibly other States, under martial law, and it has come to pass. Now, gentlemen, mark my words when I say that a storm is brewing which will shake this country, and that the glorious emblem of the Republic will trail in the blood of its citizens if State lines are not respected.

SENATOR PALMER'S "MARVELLOUS CHANGES."

On July 7, 1892, after the labor struggle at Homestead, Senator Palmer, of Illinois, spoke thus before the Senate: "These large manufacturing establishments—and there is no other road out of the question—must hereafter be understood to be public establishments.

. . . Within my lifetime I have seen marvellous changes. There was a time when individualism was the universal rule, and men lived alone almost, because they could support themselves; but matters have changed. To-day the world is practically divided between employers and employés. . . . You cannot adjust it by saying that every man has the right to control his own property in his own way; if he does not

like to go to work for the Carnegies he may go to work for somebody else. You cannot settle it that way.

. . . Those are old truisms which have no application to this changed condition, when organized capital furnishes all our food, all our clothing, our physicians; I believe it is now furnishing our lawyers, and that it has furnished our legislators sometimes. . . . The manufacturing establishments are public institutions—public because they work for the public, because they employ the public, because men in their service become unfit for other service; because there are thousands dependent upon them for food and nurture.”

This same Palmer spoke in another strain before the Senate during the struggle of the American Railway Union in 1894.

VIEW OF AN AMERICAN FROM EGYPT.

One of the thoughtful Americans who took an intelligent interest in the Chicago uprising is Mr. Ernest H. Crosby, who, until recently, was a Judge of the International Court in Egypt. He gives his opinion of it in these words: “During my years of residence abroad I never lost sight of the American labor question. We must change our minds upon it. We need not waste time over the details of it, but must go to its root. If we insist on the forcible suppression of discontent, we will not only fail miserably, but we will increase enormously the difficulties and dangers which the future has in store for us. Governments may have powers which it is unwise to assert and exercise. It will be a sad day for this country when the Federal soldiers’ uniform shall become the ordinary badge of authority. A bad precedent has been established in Chicago by the calling out

of the army to settle a dispute between citizens before every other expedient was exhausted. Then the precedent established by issuing omnibus injunctions which turn common-law crimes into acts of contempt of court, punishable arbitrarily by imprisonment without trial, was a very dangerous one. The danger of the course taken by the Government is that a large part of the community will alter their views as to their relation to the Government. Up to the present we have regarded the Government as our Government, a Government of, by, and for the people. Now, thousands, or even millions, of our fellow-citizens will be inclined to consider the Government as against the people. That is the view taken by many in almost all European countries. They look upon their Government as something outside of and above them, propped up by the soldiery—a deterrent, restrictive force, to be feared and hated.

“The attitude of both our capitalists and our Government in these times is such as to make a peaceful settlement of the labor question impossible. The Vice-President of the Pullman Company said, ‘We will not surrender, and there is nothing to arbitrate;’ but such language is totally and radically wrong. To any one acquainted with modern thought on the subject, it sounds like an utterance from the dark ages. The opposing principle is certain to be recognized sooner or later, that employés have something to say in the management of great enterprises.

“The labor question is the question of the day throughout the civilized world, and we might as well patch a severed artery with court-plaster as to try to settle the question through such legislation as we have had. Let any one who would deal with it put himself in

the workingman's place, or imagine that he is there ; let him suppose that he has an unbearable grievance to which the authorities turn a deaf ear, and then let him think how he would act under the circumstances. The proper frame of mind in the case is that of sympathy toward the aggrieved. But we are so blinded by our strife for wealth, our accumulated riches, our unstinted luxury, and our worship of vested rights, that we cannot appreciate the just complaints which our less fortunate fellows are trying to utter. As a matter of fact, is not the action of the laboring classes, in endeavoring to help each other, far nobler, morally, than the individual effort to 'look out for No. 1,' in which most of us are engaged ? As soon as the avenues to individual advancement were all but closed by excessive competition, nothing remained for labor but to strive to rise *en masse*. This labor movement is a direct consequence of universal suffrage and popular education.

"Upon returning to the United States, after my long residence abroad, I am impressed by the fact that our well-to-do classes are less favorable to the labor cause than those of Europe, especially England. When I was in London, recently, there was a general strike of hansom cabmen, which was very inconvenient to the wealthy, who use these vehicles. Every day I saw in the newspapers appeals for funds for the benefit of the wives and children of the strikers, signed by a committee of five. Two of the signers were Canon Holland of St. Paul's, one of the most distinguished clergymen of the Church of England, and Lady Somerset, one of the richest members of the aristocracy. If I am not mistaken, such a humanitarian phenomenon would be impossible here, and any clergyman taking the stand of Canon Hol-

land would be in danger of losing his church at short notice.

"It seems to me that the opposition of many people to all labor uprisings and strikes here grows out of the idea that workingmen have no right to combine effectively in action to better themselves. These people approve of only such labor combinations as are destined to be powerless and useless.

"I am told that those who hold such opinions as mine should keep quiet; but I believe the truth is sure to take care of itself. If a policy of silence is to be initiated we must begin by burning the Gospels, which contain the most advanced views on social questions that I know of." •

MARTIAL LAW.

FROM WINTHROP'S ABRIDGMENT OF MILITARY LAW.

"Martial law, though in general without other limit than the discretion of the commander upon whom its execution is devolved, is not an absolute power, but one to be exercised with such strictness only as circumstances may require. It may become requisite that it supersede for the time the existing civil institutions.

"It is a principle of the exercise of martial law that, even when required to be executed with exceptional stringency and for a protracted period, it shall not be permitted to serve as a pretext for license or disorder on the part of the military.

"The legitimate effect of a declaration of martial law is to suspend for the time the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. But it now seems to be settled by the weight of authority that the President is not empowered under the Constitution, in connection with a proclamation

of martial law or otherwise, to suspend the writ, unless such suspension has first specially been authorized by Congress.

"As the suspension is essential to the effective making of summary arrests by military force, and as martial law cannot be fully exerted in the absence of power to make and effectuate such arrangements, it follows that martial law will in the future rarely be initiated in the United States by the authority of the Executive where Congress, by not empowering the President to suspend the privilege of the writ, has omitted to provide the means for rendering the exercise of such a law effectual."

THE REGULAR ARMY.

THE POWER AND TRIUMPH OF A MAJOR-GENERAL.

The Federal forces have protected Government property, and other property, under its protection. They have opened mail and Inter-State commerce lines, and kept them open.

NELSON A. MILES,

Major-General United States Army.

CHICAGO, July, 1894.

SEARCH OUT ALL THE FACTS.

NEW YORK "WORLD."

The Chicago strike has been one of the conspicuous symptoms of the popular unrest. Many calm thinkers regard these symptoms as indications of something radically wrong and defective in the industrial, economic, and social system under which we live.

It is clearly the duty of a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people, to search out the sus-

pected defects and to devise a remedy if they are found actually to exist and to be remediable. It is not enough to investigate a single disturbance or to treat a single symptom of what may be a complex disease in the body politic.

It is high time to make an exhaustive and impartial inquiry into the whole matter, to search out all the facts, all the disturbing influences, and all the principles involved, so that remedies may be applied with discretion and not ignorantly. It is time for a scientific diagnosis to replace the guesses of empirics and quacks.

THE COWARDLY BULLIES.

NEW YORK "WORLD."

Chairman St. John, of the Railway Managers' Association, is one of those who "spurned with scorn" the overture of the strikers to return to work. "The railroads fought the fight to a finish," he said, "and will make their own terms."

This is the sort of top-lofty arrogance that is the cause of much of the opposition to the use of Federal power even to protect commerce and the mails.

So far from "fighting," the railroad officials simply cried for Government protection.

Such another exhibition of cowardice, cupidity, and incapacity was never before seen in any great strike.

Yet the agents and beneficiaries of corporations pretend to wonder at the popular feeling which frequently blazes up against them.

WORDS OF BROTHER DEBS.

We maintain the right to advise men to resist degradation and oppression.

The great ocean of thought has been stirred to its depths, and we feel what a brilliant English author describes as the "tremulous outburst of a new hope."

Capital, as represented by the general managers, assumes the right to organize and wield the power of organization, while yet it has the assurance to deny us the right to organize for the purpose of protection.

WORDS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

We look for a federation of the entire working-class, a federation which will move harmoniously along economic, political, social, and educational lines.

The events in Chicago form an unanswerable and convincing argument in favor of the government ownership of all railroads, and has done more to promote it than could be done by ten years of ordinary agitation.

The trades-union movement is one of reason, of deliberation. It depends entirely upon the voluntary and sovereign action of its members.

WORDS OF T. B. WAKEMAN.

The Chicago strike has lifted all workmen to a higher point of view than ever before. It has led many people to an understanding of the importance of complete industrial and social emancipation for the entire country. At the beck of capital, Cleveland has brought the issue between labor and capital into the Governmental field. Buchanan was the precursor of Lincoln, and we shall yet have another Lincoln.

WORDS OF EDWARD KING.

I believe that strikes are the greatest teachers that the American people have ever had. They are the educators of workingmen. Through them millions of people have

been brought to look into the grievances of labor and to think. The Chicago strike, decried as a failure, has been the greatest victory in the history of the labor movement; and it has brought the toilers into closer union than ever.

WORDS OF GENERAL SECRETARY JOHN B. LENNON.

Why is it that when, every year, the labor of this great country not only produces plenty for all, but a great surplus, thousands go hungry and ragged? Many reasons are given, such as want of industry, intemperance, etc., but the really great and the only reason worth attention is, that immense conspiracies have been favored by class legislation and continued by corrupt courts, which divert from the workers that which their labor has provided into the hands of men who produce nothing but a scheme wherewith to rob and plunder.

A NEW ERA—FROM THE NEW YORK "PEOPLE."

The mountains have heaved in the great social centre of Chicago, and have brought forth, not this time a ridiculous mouse, but a new, a portentous era for the Social Revolution in America.

Hitherto treason to the United States was construed to mean the raising of arms against the political sovereignty of the land. This construction sprang from the economic conditions under which the Federal Constitution was framed. The political power, the government of the land, was theoretically and *de facto* the property of the whole—at least of a majority—of the people. With the development of capitalism conditions began to change by degrees, though the theory was yet adhered to. But the time has come when, conditions having

been wholly changed, the theory itself is now boldly repudiated. By construing the conduct of the officers of the American Railway Union as potential, if not actual treason, Judge Grosscup correctly enunciates the theory that the political power, the government of the land, no longer belongs to the whole people, but to the property-holding minority among them; that the interests of these are the interests of the government; that an attack upon these is an attack upon the government; that, in short, the sovereignty of the nation no longer resides in the people, but actually in the capitalist class.

That this has not always been so, either in fact or in theory, Judge Grosscup's charge to the Federal Grand Jury clearly indicates. He speaks of "great changes" that have taken place, he alludes to the "grave problems" these changes have given birth to, and he announces the necessity of solving these problems "courageously," whereupon he forthwith proceeds to solve one of these problems—on behalf and in the interest of the class which he recognizes as the ruling one, the class in which his practiced eye discerns political power and governmental authority, of which he is a limb.

No previous discussion here, no new shaking of the cards or consultation with the people who have been holding a different view. The capitalist class is in power, the capitalist class is sovereign; all constitutions, laws, and guarantees repugnant to existing conditions must give way and accommodate themselves to the fact. To rise against capital is treason—the doer of such a deed is stripped of all civil rights; his mail may be violated, his house searched without warrant. The class that rules dictates the law.

These lessons have been preached before, and before this have they been exemplified by events of the day. But never before have they been preached with the voice of thunder and the peal of musketry that recently went forth from Chicago.

With the closing of this railroad strike a new and promiseful era is opened in the history of the Social Revolution in America. This era will be the last. May it be short. The times are ripe. The capitalist social system can no longer buckle its distempered cause within the belt of reason.

May the next century dawn, as it promises, upon an emancipated America.

REVERIE OF BROTHER POMEROY, OF CHICAGO.

I am sitting on the stage at a great meeting of the people. My eyes are closed in dreamy reverie. I hear a voice whose resonant tones are familiar to my ears. The voice, the words, bear me in imagination back to the days of Rome, and Caius Gracchus is proclaiming the coming liberty of the people. The words of flaming eloquence suddenly change into the rugged tones of Cola di Rienzi: "Arouse, Romans! Arouse, ye slaves!" The words stir my soul to ecstasy. Soft! I am no longer in the Eternal City, but wander among the hills and dales of Judea, and the voice has changed again. This time 'tis the beseeching tones of Him of Galilee: "Love one another." Now, swift-changing in its mellifluous harmony, I hear Pandora whisper: "The dawn approaches; take heart of hope:" and Prometheus answers with the echoed groans of suffering, sighing

souls. The air is now filled with martial music, and above its changing cadenzas pours forth in passionate appeal the stentor voice of Peter the Hermit, raising in lethargic man the love of duty. Ay, on the German hill-tops pulpited he speaks, and Hermanic, in deep-toned thunder, hurtles back, "I come!"

There is silence for a space and the changing draperies of imagination disclose a newer scene. I am in a meeting of the Virginian Burgesses, and the voice has taken on the tones of Patrick Henry. It says: "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty," and "He who would be free himself must strike the blow." Now 'tis Thomas Jefferson giving utterance to "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are born equal." And lo! even as the tones die in the distance, the voice of Andrew Jackson hurls forth the edict: "Each man and every man in this country, by the Eternal, must and shall be free." The echoing ages take up that predication and it becomes mingled with the tones of him who at Gettysburg spoke the immortal words, "This nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom, and government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." Scarce has the utterance of the martyr ceased to fill the air when Lowell softly sings:

He's true to God who's true to man; wherever wrong is done
To the humblest and the weakest, 'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us; and they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves and not for all the race."

My brain is puzzled. How comes it, I ask myself, that these heroes, dead and gone, are near me still to-day? What power permits them to quit their abiding places within the crusty bosom of Mother Earth, and, visiting again the haunts of mortal men, give forth their

immortal utterances? My rumaging mind takes on a newer consciousness. Reverie lifts her leaden hand from off my brow; my eyes open and gaze upon a vast multitude of people—men, women, and children. Men are standing on the scale, standing on the seats, hurling their hats in the air; women are weeping in joy and waving kerchiefs. All shout in clamorous accord. Their eyes are riveted upon the stage and upon a man who is gracefully bowing acknowledgment to the thunders of applause. I am near him; I gaze into his face. 'Tis the face of Eugene V. Debs!

FOR THE PEOPLE.

BY JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE.

We are the hewers and delvers who toil for others' gain,
The common clods and the rabble, stunted of brow and brain,
What do we want, the gleaners, of the harvest we have reaped?
What do we want, the neuters, of the honey we have heaped?

We want the drones to be driven away from our golden hoard;
We want to share in the harvest; we want to sit at the board;
We want what sword or suffrage has never yet won for man,
The fruits of his toil, God-promised, when the curse of toil began.

Ye have tried the sword and sceptre, the cross and the sacred word,
In all the years, and the kingdom is not yet here of the Lord.
We are tired of useless waiting; we are tired of fruitless prayers—
Soldier and churchman and lawyer—the failure, is it not theirs?

What gain is it to the people that a God laid down His life,
If twenty centuries after His world be a world of strife?
If the serried ranks be facing each other with ruthless eyes,
And steel in their hands, what profits a Saviour's sacrifice?

Ye have tried, and failed to rule us; in vain to direct have tried.
Not wholly the fault of ruler; not utterly blind the guide;
Mayhap there needs not a ruler; mayhap we can find the way,
At least ye have ruled to ruin; at least ye have led astray!

What matter if king or consul or president holds the rein,
 If crime and poverty ever be links in the bondsman's chain?
 What careth the burden-bearer that Liberty packed his load;
 If hunger presseth behind him with a sharp and ready goad?

There's a serf whose chains are of paper, there's a king with a parchment
 crown;

There are robber knights and brigands, in factory, field, and town;
 But the vassal pays his tribute to a lord of wage and rent;
 And the baron's toll is Shylock's, with a flesh-and-blood per cent.

The seamstress bends to her labor all night in a narrow room;
 The child, defrauded of childhood, tip-toes all day at the loom;
 The soul must starve, for the body can barely on husks be fed;
 And the loaded dice of a gambler settles the price of bread.

Ye have shorn and bound the Samson and robbed him of learning's light;
 But his sluggish brain is moving; his sinews have all their might.
 Look well to your gates of Gaza, your privilege, pride, and caste!
 The Giant is blind and thinking, and his locks are growing fast.

DREAD WORDS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Earnestly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this great scourge of war may speedily pass. But if every drop of blood drawn by the lash during two hundred and fifty years of the bondsman's unrequited toil shall be recompensed by another drawn by the sword, still it must be said, as was said by the prophet of Israel 3,000 years ago, all the judgments of the Lord are just and righteous altogether.—*President Lincoln's Second Inaugural* (1863).

VICTOR HUGO AND THE MOB.

The mob is the human race in misery. The mob is the mournful beginning of the people. The mob is the great victim of darkness. Sacrifice to it! Sacrifice thyself! Sacrifice to the mob! Sacrifice to it thy gold, thy blood, which is more than gold; thy thought, which is

more than blood; thy love, which is more than thought; sacrifice to it everything except justice. Sacrifice to that unfortunate, disinherited, vanquished, repudiated, despairing mob! Sacrifice to it, if must be, thy repose, fortune, country, liberty, life! Receive its complaint; listen to it touching its faults and the faults of others; bear its accusation. Give it thy ear, hand, arm, heart.

TO THE VICTORS.

BY W. W. STORY.

I sing the hymn of the conquered—who fall in the battle of life,
The hymn of the wounded, the beaten, who die o'erwhelmed in the strife;

Not the jubilant song of the victors, for whom the resounding acclaim
Of nations was lifted in chorus, whose brow wore the chaplet of fame;

But the hymn of the brave while yet humble, the weary and broken in
heart,

Who strove and who failed—acting bravely a silent and desperate part;

Whose youth bore no flowers on its branches, whose hopes burned in ashes
away,

From whose hands slipped the prize they had grasped at, who stood at the
dying of day

With the wreck of their life all around them—unpitied, unheeded, alone—
With death swooping down on their failure, and all but their faith over-
thrown;

While the voice of the world shouts its chorus its pæan for those who have
won,

While the trumpet is sounding triumphant, and high to the breeze and the
sun

Glad banners are waving, hands clapping, and hurrying feet
Thronging after the laurel-crowned victors—I stand on the field of defeat,

In the shadow with those who have fallen, death-wounded; and there
Chant a requiem low, place my hand on the pain-knotted brow, breathe a
prayer;

Hold the hand that is helpless and whisper—"They only the victory win
Who have fought the good fight and have vanquished the demon that
tempts us within ;

Who have held to their faith, unseduced by the prize that the world holds
on high,

Who have dared for a high cause to suffer, resist, fight, if need be, to die."

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Speak, History ! who are life's victors ? Unroll thy long annals, I say !
Are they those whom the world calls the victors, who win the success of a
day ?

The martyrs, or Nero ? The Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ's tryst,
Or the Persians and Xerxes ? His judges or Socrates ? Pilate or Christ ?

GOVERNOR ALTGELD ANSWERS QUESTIONS.

"What hope do you think there is for the working-men ?"

"Their only hope is to stand together, but at the same time keep within the law. Since capital stands together it is a mere matter of self-preservation to them. An individual workman in the presence of these great concentrations of capital, and of the haughty men who often control corporations, can expect no consideration whatever."

"Do you believe in arbitration ?"

"Why, yes ; but unless the working people stand together bravely, and submit proof of the injustice done them, they can expect but little, even from arbitration."

"Do you think labor agitators help the interests of labor ?"

"The question assumes that an agitator is a cause, whereas he is a product, an effect that grows out of certain conditions of injustice. Wherever you find those conditions you find unrest, which is the mother of all agitators."

"In what man do you think the workingmen's hopes rest?"

"It doesn't rest in any man; it rests in themselves. Standing together is their only hope."

"Do you think it possible for labor to so organize as to be enabled by united vote or appeal to procure justice in wages and rent?"

"No question about it whatever. I believe that the toiling masses are entitled to justice, and I have lifted my hand to secure it for them whenever I could."

AN UNBRIDLED PLUTOCRACY.

We are living in the shadow of an unbridled plutocracy, caused, created, and cemented in no slight degree by legislative, aldermanic, and Congressional action—a plutocracy that is far more wealthy than any aristocracy that has ever crossed the horizon of the world's history, and one that has been produced in a shorter consecutive period; the names of whose members are emblazoned not on the pages of their nation's glory, but of its peculations; who represent no struggle for their country's liberties, but for its boodle—no contests for Magna Charta, but railroad charters, and whose octopus grip is extending over every branch of industry; a plutocracy which controls the price of the bread we eat, the price of the sugar that sweetens our cup, the price of the oil that lights our way, the price of the very coffins in which we are finally buried.—*General Lloyd Price, in North American Review.*

THE JUDICIAL MOGULS.

In a speech at San Antonio, Texas, August 1, 1894, Governor Hogg made this remark, in reference to the "Omnibus injunction" issued at Chicago:

"I quote some words of warning from Jefferson, the great author of the Declaration of Independence, wherein he refers to the danger of Federal Courts overstretching their jurisdiction. He said :

" ' The judiciary of the United States is the subtle corps of sappers and miners, constantly working underground to undermine the foundations of our confederated fabric. They are construing our Constitution from a co-ordination of a general and special government to a general and supreme government. . . . The foundations are already deeply laid by their decisions for the annihilation of Constitutional rights and the removal of every check, every counterpoise to the engulfing power of which themselves are to make a sovereign part.'

"Now," exclaimed Governor Hogg, "these judicial sappers and miners have become so brazen that they run like a mogul locomotive over the Constitutional rights and liberties of the people."

HEAVEN'S BOUNTIES.

All titles of liberty are included in the simple statement of self-evident truth which is the heart and soul of the Declaration—that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. These simple words include freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience. There is the declaration of the same equal right of all men *to the bounty of their Creator*, to light, air, water, and land. These rights are asserted as being inalienable, and of them no man living can be deprived—neither by kings, Congress, nor by majorities—neither by compacts of past generations nor by the laws passed to-day. What is this but an assertion in different form of the truth promulgated by the Catholic Bishop of Meath, Dr. Nulty, who said : "Now, therefore, the land

of every country is the property of the people of that country, because its real owner, the Creator, who made both, hath conferred it as a voluntary gift upon them." Do not think I am putting any false construction on the Declaration of Independence—do not think I am attributing to Jefferson ideas he did not hold. The Declaration meant very much more than was, perhaps, apparent to the men who voted for it. Jefferson knew what he meant. In one of his letters, written to Madison, you will find that he dwells on this point. He begins by saying: "I started out with this self-evident truth—that the earth belongs to the living." And from that he goes on, not merely to say that no one who lived in the past century shall say how this land shall be used, but proceeds to deny the power of any one generation to saddle another with a debt, to deny the power of one generation to enact laws for another, and he makes the practical proposition that all public debts should be off, that all constitutions should be void at intervals of nineteen years. If you want Republicanism you will find it in Thomas Jefferson, and I would like some of those men who call themselves Democrats to go back and consult the old oracle. Wanted—a Democratic party.—*Henry George.*

THE MODERN MILLS OF MONEY GODS.

"The mills o' the gods grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small,"
Sang an ancient poet lowly;
Yet those gods were roly-poly—
Merely heathens after all.

But we've modern gods that beat 'em;
Beat the heathen—on the grind.
Money gods! And when you meet 'em,
With a cringing rev'rence greet 'em,
You! that worship at their shrine!

Whirl their mills! Ho, how they rustle!
Not like those slow traps of old;
Into them they rudely trundle
Human brain and human muscle—
Both are ground to shining gold.

Many mills to grind the toilers
Have these gods—the millionaires;
But to grind the weary moilers
Into gold dust for the spoilers,
None with politics compares.

The poor voter, fondly doting
On the ballot, his sole trust,
Consequences still unnoting,
Solemnly he keeps on voting—
Votes to grind himself to dust.

A. STEDWELL.

Kearney, Nebraska.

RIFLE AND BAYONET.

The orders issued by Major-General Schofield for the government of the regular army in the troubles of 1894 ran thus:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY, WASHINGTON.

A mob, forcibly resisting or obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, or attempting to destroy property belonging to or under the protection of the United States, is a public enemy.

Troops called into action against such a mob are governed by the general regulations of the army and military tactics in respect to the manner in which they shall act to accomplish the desired end. It is purely a tactical question in what manner they shall use the weapons with which they are armed, whether by the fire of musketry and artillery, or by use of the bayonet and sabre, or by both, and at what stage of the operations each or either mode of attack shall be employed. This tactical question must necessarily be decided by the immediate commander of the troops, according to his best judgment of the situation and the authorized drill regulations.

In the first stage of an insurrection, lawless mobs are frequently commingled with great crowds of comparatively innocent people, drawn there by curiosity and excitement, and ignorant of the great danger to which they are exposed. Under such circumstances the commanding officer should withhold the fire of his troops, if possible, until timely warning has been given to the innocent to separate themselves from the guilty.

Under no circumstances are the troops to fire into a crowd without the order of the commanding officer, except that single sharp-shooters, selected by the commanding officer, may shoot down individual rioters who have fired upon or thrown missiles at the troops.

As a general rule the bayonet alone should be used against mixed crowds in the first stages of a revolt. But as soon as sufficient warning has been given to enable the innocent to separate themselves from the guilty the action of the troops should be governed solely by the tactical considerations involved in the duty they are ordered to perform. They are not called upon to consider how great may be the losses inflicted upon the public enemy, except to make their blows so effective as to promptly suppress all resistance to lawful authority, and to stop the destruction of life the moment lawless resistance has ceased. Punishment belongs not to the troops, but to the courts of justice.

WHY IS THIS?

When the land is full of workers, busy hands and active brains,
And the craftsmen and the thinkers feel about them viewless chains;
When the laborer is cheated of the work his hand has wrought,
And the thinker, vain of logic, sees that reason comes to naught;

When the forces men have harnessed, and have trained to do their will,
Ought to leave no homeless people, and no hungry mouths to fill,
But have proved themselves the servants of the shrewd and selfish few,
While the many get but little from the work they find to do;

When the labor of a million goes to swell the gains of one,
As the serfs of ancient Egypt slaved beneath the burning sun;

When the schemer and the sharper hold the wealth and rule the land,
Sucking dry the thinker's brain, and mortgaging the craftsman's hand;

When the many shear the sheep, and the few secure the wool,
And the gallows claims its victims, and the costly jails are full;
Then the men who dreamed of progress, and had hoped for ease and bliss,
While they weep and wonder vainly, ask each other, Why is this?

Then the thinker, while confessing that his vision yet is dim,
Says that one thing very clearly is apparent unto him:
That the people, blind or heedless, put themselves beneath the rule
Either of the selfish knave, or worse, perhaps, the sodden fool.

EDWARD WILLETT.

THE EVER PRESENT CRISIS.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,
And the choice goes by forever, 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Careless seems the great avenger; history's pages but record
One death grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;
Truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne—
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

Then to side with truth is noble, when we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause brings fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

For humanity sweeps onward; where to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,
While the looting mob of yesterday in silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into history's golden urn.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires,
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's now-lit altar fires;
Shall we make their creed our goaler? Shall we in our haste to slay,
From the tombs of the old bigots steal the funeral lamps away
To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties: Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward who would keep abreast of Truth;
Lo! before us gleam our camp-fires; we ourselves shall Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's bloated key.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL,

APPENDIX.

PROTEST OF GOVERNOR ALTGELD, OF ILLINOIS.

In the first days of July it became evident from the manœuvering of the troops of the regular army in Chicago that President Cleveland had seized military control of the State of Illinois. He had not given any notice of his purpose in advance of its execution ; he had not forewarned the Governor of the State, either officially or otherwise ; he had not followed the established custom of waiting until the Governor appealed for his help ; but he had, upon his own motion, regardless of precedent, assumed the right of military intervention in the affairs of a State. He had but held a conference with the Secretary of War, the senior Major-General of the Army, and the Attorney-General, and had thereupon proceeded to act. It was soon learned that he stood ready to concentrate, not only the regiments of the regular army, but also all available State troops in Chicago or elsewhere, to disregard State lines for military purposes, and to use the National Guard of other States in the State of Illinois or anywhere. Cleveland's uncalled-for procedure was a novelty for the country, and it alarmed many patriotic citizens. It gave proof that dictatorial powers may be assumed by the Executive in a time of peace. It looked like one of those conspiracies which have been

repeatedly carried out, under various forms of Government, in ancient and modern times.

As soon as Governor Altgeld found that his authority had been made subordinate to that of the regular army operating in the State, he dispatched by telegraph an energetic protest to President Cleveland :

THE GOVERNOR'S PROTEST.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE OF ILLINOIS, July 5, 1894.

Hon. Grover Cleveland, President United States, Washington.

SIR: I am advised that you have ordered Federal troops into service in the State of Illinois. Surely, the facts have not been correctly presented to you in the case, or you would not have taken this step, for it is entirely unnecessary, and, as it seems to me, unjustifiable.

Waiving all questions of courtesy, I will say that the State of Illinois is not only able to take care of itself, but stands ready to-day to furnish the Federal Government any assistance it may need elsewhere. Our military force is ample, and consists of as good soldiers as can be found in the country. They have been ordered out promptly whenever and wherever they were needed.

We have stationed in Chicago alone three regiments of infantry, one battery, and one troop of cavalry, and no better soldiers can be found. They have been ready every moment for duty, and are eager to go into service. But they have not been ordered out, because nobody in Cook county, whether official or private citizen, asked to have their assistance, or even intimated in any way that it was desired or necessary.

So far as I am advised, the local officials have been able to handle the situation. But if any assistance were needed, the State stood ready to furnish one hundred

men for every one man required, and stood ready to do so at a moment's notice.

Notwithstanding these facts, the Federal Government has been applied to by men who had political and selfish motives for wanting to ignore the State Government. We have just gone through a long coal strike more extensive here than in any other State, because our soft coal field is larger than that of any other State. We have now had ten days of the railroad strike, and we have promptly furnished military aid wherever the local officials needed it.

In two instances the United States Marshal for the southern district of Illinois applied for assistance to enable him to enforce the processes of the United States Court, and troops were promptly furnished him, and he was assisted in every way he desired. The law has been thoroughly executed, and every man guilty of violating it during the strike has been brought to justice. If the Marshals for the northern district of Illinois, or the authorities of Cook county, needed military assistance, they had but to ask for it to get it from the State.

At present some of our railroads are paralyzed, not by reason of obstructions, but because they cannot get men to operate their trains. For some reason they are anxious to keep this fact from the public, and for this purpose are making an outcry about obstructions in order to divert attention. I will cite to you two examples which illustrate the situation :

Some days ago I was advised that the business of one of our railroads was obstructed at two railroad centres, that there was a condition bordering on anarchy there, and was asked to furnish protection so as to enable the employés of the road to operate the trains. Troops

were promptly ordered to both points. Then it transpired that the company had not sufficient men on its line to operate one train. All the old hands were orderly, but refused to work. The company had large shops in which were a number of men who did not belong to the Railway Union, but who could run an engine. They were appealed to to run the train, but flatly refused. We were obliged to hunt up soldiers who could run an engine and operate a train.

Again, two days ago, appeals which were almost frantic came from officials of another road, stating that at an important point on their line trains were forcibly obstructed, and that there was a reign of anarchy at that place, and they asked for protection. Troops were put on the ground in a few hours' time, when the officer in command telegraphed me that there was no trouble, and had been none at that point, but that the road seemed to have no men to run trains; and the Sheriff telegraphed that he did not need troops, but would himself move every train if the company would only furnish an engineer. The result was that the troops were there over twelve hours before a single train was moved, although there was no attempt at interference by anybody.

It is true that in several instances when a road made efforts to work a few green men, a crowd standing around scoffed at them and tried to drive them away, and that in a few other cases Pullman sleepers were cut from trains. But all these troubles were local in character, and could easily be handled by the State authorities.

Illinois has more railroad men than any other State in the Union, and as a rule they are orderly and well-behaved. This is shown by the fact that so very little actual violence has been committed. Only a very small per

cent. of these men have been guilty of any infractions of the law. The newspaper accounts have in some cases been pure fabrications, and in others wild exaggerations.

I have gone thus into details to show that it is not soldiers that the railroads need so much as it is men to operate trains. The conditions do not exist here which bring the case within the Federal statute, a statute that was passed in 1861, which was in reality a war measure. This statute authorized the use of Federal troops in a State "whenever it shall be impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States within such States by the ordinary judicial process."

Such a condition does not exist in Illinois. There have been a few local disturbances, but nothing that seriously interfered with the administration of law or justice, or that could not easily be controlled by the local or State authorities, for the Federal troops can do nothing that the State troops cannot do.

I repeat that you have been imposed upon in this matter. Even if, by a forced construction, it were held that the conditions here came within the letter of the statute, then I submit that local self-government is a fundamental principle of our Constitution. Each community shall govern itself so long as it can and is ready to enforce the law; and it is in harmony with this fundamental principle that the statute authorizing the President to send troops into States must be construed. Especially is this so in matters relating to the exercise of the police power and the preservation of law and order.

To absolutely ignore a local government in matters of this kind, when that government is ready to furnish any assistance needed, and is amply able to enforce the law, not only insults the people of the State by imputing to

them an inability to govern themselves or unwillingness to enforce the law, but is in violation of a basic principle of our institutions. The question of Federal supremacy is in no way involved. No one disputes it for a moment, but under our Constitution Federal supremacy and local self-government must go hand-in-hand, and to ignore the latter is to do violence to the Constitution.

As Governor of the State of Illinois, I protest against this, and ask the immediate withdrawal of the Federal troops from active duty in this State. Should the situation at any time get so serious that we cannot control it with the State forces, we shall promptly and freely ask for Federal assistance. Until such time, I protest, with all due deference, against this uncalled for reflection upon our people, and I again ask the immediate withdrawal of these troop.

I have the honor to be

Yours respectfully,

JOHN P. ALTGELD, Governor of Illinois.

President Cleveland replied immediately to this protest in these terms :

CLEVELAND'S SUBTERFUGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 5, 1894.

John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois.

Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post Office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representations of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the Federal Courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abund-

ant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States.

To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of Federal authority, the presence of Federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary, and there has been no intention of thereby interfering with the plain duty of the local authorities to preserve the peace of the city.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The next day Governor Altgeld again addressed the Dictator at Washington in another protest:

THE GOVERNOR'S SECOND PROTEST.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, STATE OF ILLINOIS, July 6, 1894.

To the President of the United States.

SIR: Your answer to my protest involves some startling conclusions, and evades the question at issue, which is that the principle of local self-government is just as fundamental in our institutions as is that of Federal supremacy.

1st. You calmly assume that the Executive has the legal right to order Federal troops into any community of the United States, in the first instance, whenever there is the slightest disturbance, and that he can do this without any regard to the question as to whether that community is able and ready to enforce the law itself. Inasmuch as the Executive is the sole judge of the question as to whether any disturbance exists or not in any part of the country, this assumption means that the Executive can send Federal troops into any community in the United States at his pleasure, and keep them there as long as he chooses.

If this is the law, then the principle of local self-government either never did exist in this country or else has been destroyed, for no community can be said to possess local self-government if the Executive can, at his pleasure, send military forces to patrol it under pretence of enforcing some law. The kind of local self-government that could exist under these circumstances may be found in any of the monarchies of Europe. It is not in harmony with the spirit of our institutions.

2d. It is also a fundamental principle in our Government that, except in times of war, the military shall be subordinate to the civil authorities. In harmony with this provision, the State troops, when ordered out, act under and with the civil authorities. The Federal troops you have ordered to Chicago are not under the civil authorities, and are in no way responsible to them for their conduct. They are not even acting under the United States Marshal, or under any Federal officer of the State, but are acting directly under military orders issued from military headquarters at Washington, and, in so far as these troops act at all it is military Government.

3d. The statute authorizing Federal troops to be sent into States, in certain cases, contemplates that the State troops shall be used first. This provision has been ignored, and it is assumed that the Executive is not bound by it. Federal interference with industrial disturbances in the various States is certainly a new departure, and it opens up so large a field that it will require a very little stretch of authority to absorb to itself all the details of local Government.

4th. You say that troops were ordered into Illinois upon the demand of the Post Office Department and upon representations of the judicial officers of the

United States that process of court could not be served, and upon proof that conspiracies existed. We will not discuss the facts, but look for a moment at the principle involved in your statement.

All of these officers are appointed by the Executive. Most of them can be removed by him at will. They are not only obliged to do his bidding, but they are, in fact, a part of the Executive. If several of them can apply for troops, one alone can ; so that under the law as you assume it to be, an Executive, through any one of his appointees, can apply to himself to have the military sent into any city or number of cities, and base his application on such representation or showing as he sees fit to make.

In fact, it will be immaterial whether he makes any showing or not, for the Executive is the sole judge, and nobody else has any right to interfere or even inquire about it. Then the Executive can pass on his own application—his will being the sole guide—he can hold the application to be sufficient, and can order troops to as many places as he wishes, put them in command of any one he chooses, and have them act, not under the civil officers, either Federal or State, but act directly under military orders from Washington ; and there is not in the Constitution or laws of the land, whether written or unwritten, any limitation or restraint upon his power. His judgment—that is, his will—is the sole guide, and, it being purely a matter of discretion, his decision can never be examined or questioned.

This assumption as to the power of the Executive is certainly new, and I respectfully submit that it is not the law of the land. The jurists have told us that this is a Government of law, not a Government by the caprice of

individuals, and, further, that, instead of being autocratic, it was a Government of limited power. Yet the autocrat of Russia could certainly not possess or claim to possess greater power than is possessed by the Executive of the United States, if your assumption is correct.

5th. The Executive has the command not only of the regular forces of the United States, but of the military forces of all the States, and can order them to any place he sees fit to; and as there are always more or less local disturbances in the country, it will be an easy matter, under your construction of the law, for an ambitious Executive to order out the military forces of all of the States and establish at once a military Government.

The only chance of failure in such a movement could come from rebellion, and with such a vast military power at command this could readily be crushed, for, as a rule, soldiers obey orders.

As for the situation in Illinois, that is of no consequence when compared with the far-reaching principles involved. True, according to my advices, Federal troops have now been on duty for over two days, and, although the men were brave and the officers valiant and able, yet their very presence proved to be an irritant, because it aroused the indignation of a large class of people who, while upholding law and order, had been taught to believe in local self-government, and therefore resented what they regarded as an unwarrantable interference.

Inasmuch as the Federal troops can do nothing but what the State troops can do here, and believing that the State is amply able to take care of the situation and to enforce the law, and believing that the ordering out of the Federal troops was unwarranted, I again ask their withdrawal.

JOHN P. ALTGELD.

CLEVELAND'S REPLY, CURT AND INANE—HIS DODGE.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, D. C., July 6, 1894.

John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois.

While I am still persuaded that I have neither transcended my authority nor duty in the emergency that confronts us, it seems to me that in this hour of danger and public distress discussion may well give way to active effort on the part of all in authority to restore obedience to law and to protect life and property.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Both of the powerful remonstrances of the Governor of Illinois were left unheeded by the usurper at Washington, whose course was very naturally sustained by subservient members of the Federal judiciary, and also by Congress, which had then become imbecile under the fumes of putrescence arising from the Sugar Trust and the other corporations with which some of its members were trading. The silence was not complete there, however, for the few Populist Senators and Representatives raised their voices against the treacherous machinations of the Executive.

Within forty-eight hours Cleveland was somehow brought to realize that he must make some formal show of glozing over his arbitrary military assumptions, and he issued this proclamation:

PROCLAMATION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 8, 1894.

Whereas, By reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, and assemblages of persons, it has become im-

practicable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial procedure, the laws of the United States within the State of Illinois, and especially in the city of Chicago, within said State ;

Whereas, For the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, protecting its property, and removing obstructions to the United States mails in the State and city aforesaid, the President has employed a part of the military forces of the United States :

Now, therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby admonish all good citizens and all persons who may be or may come within the city and State aforesaid, against aiding, countenancing, encouraging, or taking any part in such unlawful obstructions, combinations, and assemblages ; and I hereby warn all persons engaged in or in any way connected with such unlawful obstructions, combinations, and assemblages to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 12 o'clock noon on the 9th day of July instant.

Those who disregard this warning, or persist in taking part with a riotous mob in forcibly resisting or obstructing the execution of the laws of the United States, or interfering with the functions of the Government, or destroying or attempting to destroy the property belonging to the United States, or under its protection, cannot be regarded otherwise than as public enemies.

Troops employed against such a riotous mob will act with all the moderation and forbearance consistent with the accomplishment of the desired end ; but the stern necessities that confront them will not with certainty permit discrimination between guilty participants and those

who are mingled with them from curiosity or without criminal intent. The only safe course, therefore, for those not actually unlawfully participating is to abide at their homes, or at least not to be found in the neighborhood of riotous assemblages.

While there will be no hesitation or vacillation in the decisive treatment of the guilty, this warning is especially intended to protect and save the innocent.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this 8th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1894, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 108th.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The next day the President issued yet another proclamation, the scope of which was wider than that of the first.

SECOND PROCLAMATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 9, 1894.

Whereas, By reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, and assemblages of persons it has become impracticable, in the judgment of the President, to enforce, by the ordinary course of judicial procedure, the laws of the United States at certain points and places within the States of North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, and California, and the Territories of Utah and New Mexico, and especially along the lines of such railways traversing said States and Territories as are military roads and post-routes, and are engaged in Inter-State commerce and in carrying United States mails;

Whereas, For the purpose of enforcing the faithful execution of the laws of the United States, and protecting property belonging to the United States, or under its protection, and of preventing obstructions of the United States mails and of commerce between the States and Territories, and of securing to the United States the right guaranteed by law to the use of such roads for postal, military, naval, and other Government service, the President has employed a part of the military forces of the United States:

Now, therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby command all persons engaged in or in any way connected with such unlawful obstructions, combinations, and assemblages, to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes on or before 3 o'clock in the afternoon on the 10th day of July instant.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be hereto affixed.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Thus, ten days after the Federal Executive had begun to rule cities and States through the regular army, he took the trouble to give his reasons for indulging in this military license. The Governor of Illinois had scuttled every one of his sham reasons the week before either of the proclamations was issued.

The army officers everywhere received special orders from military headquarters, which, as a matter of course, were promptly put into execution.

Things were moving rapidly. The courts as well as the armies of the United States were out for service. The day after Cleveland's proclamation, Judge Grosscup,

of Chicago, took the field. To a special Federal Grand Jury, which had been summoned to inquire into things, and especially to prepare the way for the seizure of the officers and other members of the American Railway Union on strike, this judge delivered a charge on the 10th of July, all of which, with the exception of a few trivial passages, is here given.

GROSSCUP'S CHARGE.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury: You have been summoned here to inquire whether any of the laws of the United States within this judicial district have been violated.

With the question behind present occurrences we have, as ministers of the law and citizens of the Republic, nothing to do. The law as it is must first be vindicated before we turn aside to inquire how law or practice as it ought to be can be effectually brought about. Government by law is imperiled, and that issue is paramount.

The Government of the United States has enacted laws, first to protect itself and its authority as a Government, and, secondly, to protect its authority over those agencies to which, under the Constitution and laws, it extends governmental regulations.

For the former purpose—namely, to protect itself and its authority as a Government—it has enacted that “every person who entices, sets on foot, assists, or engages in any rebellion or insurrection against the authority of the United States, or the laws thereof, or gives aid or comfort thereto,” and “any two or more persons in any State or territory who conspire to overthrow, put down, or destroy by force the Government of the United States,”

“or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof,” shall be visited with certain penalties therein named.

Insurrection is a rising against civil or political authority; the open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of law in a city or State. Now, the laws of the United States forbid, under penalty, any person from obstructing or retarding the passage of the mail, and make it the duty of the officer to arrest such offenders and bring them before the court.

If, therefore, it shall appear to you that any person or persons have wilfully obstructed or retarded the mails, and that their attempted arrest for such offence has been opposed by such a number of persons as would constitute a general uprising in that particular locality, and as threatens, for the time being, the civil and political authority, then the fact of an insurrection within the meaning of the law has been established. And he who by speech, writing, promises, or other inducements assists in setting it on foot or carrying it along, or gives it aid or comfort, is guilty of a violation of law. It is not necessary that there should be bloodshed; it is not necessary that its dimensions should be so portentous as to insure probable success, to constitute an insurrection.

It is necessary, however, that the rising should be in opposition to the execution of the laws of the United States, and should be so formidable as for the time being to defy the authority of the United States. When men gather to resist the civil or political power of the United

States, or to oppose the execution of its laws, and are in such force that the civil authorities are inadequate to put them down, and a considerable military force is needed to accomplish that result, they become insurgents, and every person who knowingly incites, aids, or abets them, no matter what his motives may be, is likewise an insurgent.

The penalty is severe, and, as I have said, is designed to protect the Government and its authority against direct attack. There are other provisions of law designed to protect these particular agencies which come within Governmental control. To these I call your attention.

The mails are in the special keeping of the Government and laws of the United States. To insure their unhindered transmission, it is made an offence to "knowingly and wilfully obstruct or retard the passage of the mail, or any carriage, horse, driver, or carrier carrying the same." It is also provided that "if two or more persons conspire to permit any offence against the United States, . . . and one or more of such parties do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy," all the parties thereto shall be subject to a penalty.

Any person knowingly and wilfully doing any act which contributes or is calculated to contribute to obstruct or hinder the mails, or who knowingly and wilfully takes a part in such acts, no matter how trivial, if intentional, is guilty of violation of the first of these provisions; and any person who conspires with one or more other persons, one of whom subsequently commits the offence, is likewise guilty of an offence against the United States. What constitutes conspiracy to hinder or obstruct the mails will be touched upon in connection with the subject to which I now call your attention.

The Constitution places the regulation of commerce between the several States and between the States and foreign nations within the keeping of the United States Government. Anything which is designed to be transported, for commercial purposes, from one State to another, and is actually in transit, and any passenger who is actually engaged in any such Inter-State commercial transaction, and any car or carriage actually transporting, or engaged in transporting, such passenger or thing, are the agencies and subject-matter of Inter-State commerce, and any conspiracy in restraint of such trade or commerce is an offence against the United States.

To restrain is to prohibit, limit, confine, or abridge a thing; the restraint may be permanent or temporary; it may be intended to prohibit, limit, or abridge for all time or for a day only. The law draws no distinction in this respect. Commerce of this character is intended to be free, except subject to regulations by law at all times and for all periods. Temporary restraint is, therefore, as intolerable as permanent, and practical restraint by actual physical interference as criminal as that which flows from the arrangements of business and organization. Any physical interference, therefore, which has the effect of restraining any passenger, car, or thing constituting an element of Inter-State commerce forms the foundation for this offence.

But to complete this offence, as also that of conspiracy to obstruct the mails, there must exist, in addition to the resolve or purpose, the element of criminal conspiracy. What is criminal conspiracy? If it shall appear to you that any two or more persons corruptly or wrongfully agreed with each other that the trains carrying the mails and Inter-State commerce should be forcibly arrested,

obstructed, and restrained, such would clearly constitute this conspiracy.

If it shall appear to you that two or more persons corruptly or wrongfully agreed with each other that the employés of the several railroads carrying the mails and Inter-State commerce should quit, and that successors should, by threats, intimidation, or violence, be prevented from taking their places, such would constitute a conspiracy.

The railroad carrying the mails of Inter-State commerce has a right to the service of each of its employés until each lawfully chooses to quit, and any concerted action upon the part of others to demand or insist, under any effective penalty or threat, upon their quitting, to the injury of the mail service or the prompt transportation of Inter-State commerce, is a conspiracy, unless such demand or insistence is pursuant of a lawful authority conferred upon them by the men themselves, and is made in good faith in the execution of such authority. The demand and insistence, under effective penalty or threat, and injury to the transportation of the mails or Inter-State commerce being proved, the burden falls upon those making the demand or insistence to show lawful authority and good faith in its execution.

If it appears to you that any two or more persons, by concert, insisted or demanded, under effective penalties and threats, upon men quitting their employment, to the obstruction of the mails or Inter-State commerce, you may inquire whether they did these act as strangers to these men, or whether they did them under the guise of trustees or leaders of an association to which these men belonged. And if the latter appears, you may inquire whether their acts and conduct in that respect were in

faithful and conscientious execution of their supposed authority or was simply a use of that authority as a guise to advance personal ambition or satisfy private malice.

I wish again, in conclusion, to impress upon you the fact that the present emergency is to vindicate law. If no one has violated the law under the rules I have laid down, it needs no vindication; but if there has been such violation, there should be quick, prompt, and adequate indictment. First vindicate the law. Until that is done, no other questions are in order.



THE INFAMOUS INJUNCTION

KNOWN AS THE

"GATLING GUN" OR "OMNIBUS"
INJUNCTION.

ISSUED AGAINST PRESIDENT DEBS AND OTHERS, AND ALL
OTHERS, BY UNITED STATES JUDGES WOODS AND
GROSSCUP, JULY 2, 1894.

To Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, and L. W. Rogers and the American Railway Union, Sylvester Keliher, Lloyd Hotchkiss, A. Pazybok, H. Elfine, James Hannon, John Mastenbrook, William Smith, Edward O'Neil, Charles Nailer, John Duffy, William McMullen, E. Shelby, Fred. Ketchum, John W. Doyle and to all other persons combining and conspiring with them, and to all other persons whomsoever: You are hereby restrained, commanded, and enjoined absolutely to desist and refrain from in any way or manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any of the business of any of the following-named railroads—

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad.

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Chicago and Alton Railroad.

Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad.

Chicago and Erie Railroad.

Chicago and Grand Trunk Railway.

Chicago and North-Western Railway.

Chicago and Western Indiana Railroad.

Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad.

Chicago Great-Western Railway.

Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway.

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway.

Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway.

Illinois Central Railroad.

Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway.

Louisville, New Albany and Chicago Railway.

Michigan Central Railroad.

New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad.

Pennsylvania Company.

Wisconsin Central Lines.

Wabash Railroad.

Union Stock Yards and Transit Company—

As common carriers of passengers and freight between or among any States of the United States, and from in any way interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any mail trains, express trains, whether freight or passenger, engaged in Inter-State commerce, or carrying passengers or freight between or among the States; and from in any manner interfering with, hindering, or stopping any train carrying the mail, and from in any manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing or stopping any engines, cars or rolling-stock of any of said companies engaged in Inter-State commerce, or in connection with the carriage of passengers or freight between or among the States, and from in any manner interfering with, injuring, or destroying any of the property of any of said railroads engaged in or for the purposes of, or in connection with, Inter-State commerce, or the carriage of the mails of the United States, or the transportation of passengers or freight between or

among the States; and from entering upon the grounds or premises of any of said railroads for the purpose of interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any of said mail trains, passenger, or freight trains engaged in Inter-State commerce or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States; or for the purpose of interfering with, injuring, or destroying any of said property so engaged in or used in connection with Inter-State commerce or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States; and from injuring or destroying any part of the tracks, road-bed or road, or permanent structures of said railroads; and from injuring, destroying, or in any way interfering with any of the signals or switches of any of said railroads; and from displacing or extinguishing any of the signals of any of said railroads, and from spiking, locking, or in any manner fastening any of the switches of any of said railroads, and from uncoupling or in any way hampering or obstructing the control by any of said railroads of any of the cars, engines, or parts of trains of any of said railroads engaged in Inter-State commerce or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States, or engaged in carrying any of the mails of the United States; and from compelling or inducing or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, persuasion, force, or violence any of the employes of any of said railroads to refuse or fail to perform any of their duties as employé of any of said railroads in connection with the Inter-State business or commerce of such railroads, or the carriage of the United States mails by such railroads, or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States; and from compelling or inducing or attempt-

ing to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, force, or violence any of the employèes of said railroads who are employed by such railroads and engaged in its service in the conduct of Inter-State business, or in the operation of any of its trains carrying the mails of the United States, or doing Inter-State business, or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the States, to leave the service of such railroads, and from preventing any persons whatever, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence from entering the service of any of said railroads and doing the work thereof in the carrying of the mails of the United States, or the transportation of passengers and freight between or among the States; and from doing any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to restrain either of said railroad companies or receivers in the free and unhindered control and handling of Inter-State commerce over the lines of said railroads, and of transportation of persons and freight between and among the States; and from ordering, directing, aiding, assisting, or abetting, in any manner whatever, any person or persons to commit any or either of the acts aforesaid.

MADE BINDING ON ALL WHO HAVE KNOWLEDGE.

And it is further ordered that the aforesaid injunction and writ of injunction shall be in force and binding upon such of said defendants as are named in said bill from and after the service upon them severally of said writ, by delivering to them severally a copy of said writ, or by reading the same to them, and the service upon them respectively of the writ of subpœna herein, and shall be binding upon said defendants whose names are alleged to be unknown from and after the service of such writ

upon them respectively by the reading of the same to them or by the publication thereof by posting or printing, and shall be binding upon all other persons whatsoever who are not named herein from and after the time when they shall severally have knowledge of the entry of such order and the existence of said injunction.

WILLIAM A. WOODS.

P. S. GROSSCUP.

CASE FOR THE DEFENDANTS.

Answer of the Counsel of President Debs and the other Defendants of the American Railway Union, Filed July 23, 1894.

GENERAL DENIAL OF THE CHARGES MADE IN THE CONTEMPT PROCEEDINGS BEFORE JUDGES WOODS
AND GROSSCUP.

In the Circuit Court of the United States, Northern District of Illinois, United States of America, complainant, *vs.* Eugene V. Debs, George W. Howard, L. W. Rogers, Sylvester Keliher, *et. al.*, defendants.

Now come the said defendants, and first saving and reserving unto themselves all and singular the advantage that may to them accrue by reason of the many and manifold insufficiencies in the bill of the complainant herein and in the injunctions issued thereon, by reason whereof the defendants say, as they are advised, that the said injunction is in all things wholly void and without effect, they jointly and severally make answer to the in-

formation of the said complainant, and in that regard do respectfully show to the court as follows :

They admit that on the second day of July, 1894, the United States of America caused to be filed in the office of the clerk of said court for said district a certain complaint or bill in equity, and allege that said complaint or bill, together with the affidavit verifying the same, was and is in the words and figures following, to wit :

They admit that on said day a certain writ of injunction was issued by the order of said court upon said bill, and that a copy of the order of the said court directing that such writ of injunction be issued is attached to the complainant's information herein.

OBJECTS OF THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

They admit that the American Railway Union is a voluntary association, of which many thousand employés were at the time of the filing of said bill and still are members ; that the defendant, Eugene V. Debs, is President of said association, and George B. Howard, Vice-President, Sylvester Keliher, Secretary and Treasurer, and L. W. Rogers one of the directors, and that all of said defendants were and are directors of said association. They allege that the purpose of said American Railway Union and the purpose and intent of the organization and maintenance thereof was the protection of all its members in their rights and interests as employés of the various railway systems of the United States, and to procure by all lawful and legitimate means fair, reasonable, and adequate compensation for all its said members for the service performed by them ; that membership in said American Railway Union was open to every employé of good personal character and reputation engaged

upon the railway systems of the United States, and that to better secure and effectuate the purpose and objects of said American Railway Union as hereinbefore set forth, it was the desire and one of the purposes of the said American Railway Union to procure all such persons to become members of such organization.

They deny that it was at any time the purpose and object of said American Railway Union, or of the officers or directors thereof or of these defendants or either or any of them, to concentrate the power and jurisdiction of said American Railway Union under one official management and direction, with power to order strikes or a discontinuance of the service of such employés at any time that the board of directors of the American Railway Union should elect so to do, as alleged in said information or otherwise; and they allege that, by the organization of the said American Railway Union, strikes could be declared or discontinued only by the vote of a majority of the members of such American Railway Union employed in the service affected by any such strike, and that the only power, authority, or office of the said officers or directors of said American Railway Union, or of these defendants or either of them in respect to said matter, was to notify the members of said American Railway Union in the service concerned in such strike of the action taken by such majority.

DID NOT ORDER ILLINOIS CENTRAL STRIKE.

They deny that on the 26th or 27th day of June last past, or at any other time, the American Railway Union, or its board of directors or other officers or these defendants or either, had directed and ordered the members of said American Railway Union engaged in the service of

the Illinois Central Railroad Company to leave the service of said company, as alleged in said information or otherwise, or that at any time any orders were issued to the employés of the railroads mentioned in the complaint or any of them to leave the service of such companies; but they allege that on or about said time a majority of the members of said American Railway Union employed upon said Illinois Central Railroad and upon said other companies referred to in said information, did for themselves, without any order, direction, or control of the said American Railway Union, or of its officers or directors or of these defendants or either of them, voluntarily determine by their votes that they would strike or leave the service of said railway companies, and that, in pursuance of such vote, said employés did, on or about the said time, leave the service of the said railway companies freely and voluntarily of their own accord without any order, direction, or control on the part of said American Railway Union, its officers or directors or of these defendants or any of them. Upon information and belief the defendants deny that said employés so leaving the service of said railway companies as aforesaid did so for the purpose of hindering, preventing, or delaying said railway companies in the operation of trains engaged in the transportation of United States mails and Interstate commerce over the respective roads of said companies.

Defendants admit that said order or writ of injunction was published in the daily papers of the city of Chicago as alleged in said information, and that copies thereof were served upon the defendants as in said information alleged.

WERE SELF-GOVERNING BODIES.

Defendants admit that prior to the said July 2d many local unions of the said American Railway Union were organized upon railroads located in the Northwest and extending from the city of Chicago westward to California, and including substantially all the railroads to the Pacific coast. They admit that the American Railway Union had prior to July 2d organized many local unions upon railroads in the Northwest, and was engaged in organizing local unions upon the main line of roads extending from the city of Chicago to the Atlantic coast, and admit that after the service of said injunction many persons upon said systems of roads met together and organized themselves into local unions of the said American Railway Union, and duly applied to said American Railway Union for admission to membership therein, and such persons so organizing themselves and so applying were received and admitted as members of said American Railway Union, but deny that after the service of said injunction they or either of them carried on the work of organization other than by generally advising railroad employés to become members of such union and receiving to membership persons so applying therefor as aforesaid. They expressly deny that the organization of said unions upon said roads or any of them was intended to confer or did confer upon said American Railway Union, its officers or directors or upon these defendants or either of them, the power and authority to order strikes upon said roads, as alleged in said information or otherwise; but, on the contrary, allege that strikes could only be ordered upon said roads by the employés of said roads themselves, and that such employés were in no manner subject to the authority or

control of said American Railway Union, its officers or directors or of these defendants or either of them, in that regard. They deny that orders to strike were at any time or in any manner communicated by said American Railway Union, its officers or directors or these defendants or either of them, to said local unions or any of them, as alleged in said information or otherwise.

The defendants deny that any one of the telegrams set forth in said information was sent or caused to be sent by them or any of them, or that they authorized or approved the same or any one thereof, except a certain telegram dated July 6, 1894, in the words and figures following :

“We have assurance that within forty-eight hours every labor organization in this country will come to our rescue. The fight is on, and our men are acquitting themselves like heroes. Here and there one weakens, but our cause is strengthened by a dozen going out in his place. Every true man must quit now and remain out until the fight is won. There can be no half-way ground. Men must be for us or against us. Our cause is gaining ground daily and our success is only a question of a few days. Don't falter in this hour. Stand erect and proclaim your manhood. Labor must win now or never. Our victory will be positive and complete. Whatever happens do not give credence to rumors and newspaper reports.”

Which said telegram defendants admit was sent or caused to be sent by the defendant, Debs, as in said information alleged; but save as hereinbefore admitted, defendants allege that they had no knowledge or notice

whatever of the sending of said telegrams or of the contents thereof until the filing of said information.

They deny that any other telegrams similar in form and character to those in said information sent out were sent by the defendant Debs, or any of the defendants, with the knowledge, authority, or approval of any of said other defendants at any time after the service of said writ of injunction upon said defendants, and deny that any employés of any of the railway companies named in said injunction were induced by reason of any telegram sent or caused to be sent by the defendants or any of them, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, to leave the service of said railway companies, or that the transportation of the United States mails and Inter-State commerce were thereby in any way hindered, or delayed, or prevented.

The defendants admit that upon some of said lines of railway there was exercised upon the part of some persons, to the defendants unknown, violence against persons and property. They deny that they or any of them have any knowledge or information sufficient to form a belief as to the commission of the specific acts of violence in said information set forth, or any thereof, and upon information and belief they deny that any member of said American Railway Union in any manner participated in said acts of violence or any of them.

DID NOT APPROVE OF VIOLENCE.

They deny that, in violation of the order of the court, they daily and continuously or at all issued any orders or directions for the employés of said railway companies, or any of them, to leave such services in a body, as alleged in said information or otherwise. They deny

that at said time, or at any time, they knew that violence and unlawful conduct necessarily followed from strikes of the kind mentioned in said information, and deny that such is the fact; but, on the contrary, allege that, so far as said American Railway Union or the members thereof are concerned, said strike and all strikes of a similar character contemplate nothing more than the quiet, peaceable, and lawful cessation of work by such members when and for such periods as they shall for themselves determine.

Defendants expressly deny that they or any one of them did at the times mentioned in said information, or at any other time, order, direct, advise, or recommend or approve the acts of violence in said information set forth, or any of them, or any violence or unlawful acts of any kind or character; but, on the contrary, allege that they did all said time counsel and advise all members of the said American Railway Union with whom they were in communication to abstain from violence, threats, and intimidation, and to at all times respect the law and the officers thereof.

They deny that the board of directors of said American Railway Union, or its officers or these defendants or either of them, at any time assumed the authority and power, or have now or ever have had any authority or power whatsoever, to order strikes and boycotts or to discontinue the same.

They admit that on the 12th day of July, 1894, the communication set out in said information was addressed to the railway managers and signed by the defendants whose names are affixed thereto, but allege that so much of said communication as implies or assumes any right, power, or authority in said defendants,

or either of them, to discontinue said strike was unauthorized, and that said defendants had no other power or authority in said matter than to recommend to the members of said American Railway Union the adoption of the proposals therein stated.

“HERALD” INTERVIEWS FALSE.

Defendants admit the sending of the communication to the Pan-Handle yardmen set forth in said information, but deny that in and by said communication they exercised or assumed to exercise any power or authority over said men, or any thereof, but that said communication was merely a request to said men to perform the acts herein stated.

They deny that they have any knowledge or information sufficient to form a belief as to whether the interview set forth in said information was in fact published in the *Chicago Herald* July 15th or at any other time. They deny that the defendant Debs, or any of the defendants, caused said interview to be published, or uttered the statements therein contained, or any of them, but allege that the said interview is wholly false, a forgery, and fictitious. The defendants deny that they or either of them have in any way interfered with, hindered, obstructed, or stopped any of the business of the railroads mentioned in said injunction, or either of them, as common carriers of passengers and freight between or among any States of the United States, or that they or either of them have in any manner interfered with, hindered, obstructed, or stopped any mail trains, express trains, or other trains, whether engaged in Inter-State commerce or carrying passengers or freight between or among the States; or that they or either of them have in

any manner interfered with, hindered, or stopped any trains carrying the mails; or that they or either of them have in any manner interfered with, hindered, obstructed, or stopped any engine, car, or rolling-stock of any of said companies engaged in Inter-State commerce or in connection with the carriage of passengers or freight between or among the States; or that they or either of them have in any manner interfered with, injured, or destroyed any of the property of any of said railroads engaged in or for the purpose of or in connection with Inter-State commerce or the carriage of the mails of the United States or the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States; or that they or either of them have entered upon the grounds or premises of any of said railroads for the purpose of interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping any of said mail trains, passenger, or freight trains engaged in the Inter-State commerce or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States, or for the purpose of interfering with, injuring, or destroying any of said property engaged in or so used in connection with Inter-State commerce or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States; or that they or either of them have injured or destroyed any of the trains, road-bed, or road equipment of said railroads.

HAVE NOT HAMPERED OPERATIONS.

Or that they or either of them have injured, destroyed, or in any way interfered with any of the signals or switches of any of said railroads; or that they or either of them have displaced or extinguished any of the signals of any of the said railroads; or that they or either of them have spiked, locked, or in any manner fastened any of the

switches of said railroads ; or that they or either of them have uncoupled or in any way hampered or obstructed the control of any of said railroads or any of the cars, engines, or parts of the trains of any of the said railroads engaged in Inter-State commerce or in the transportation of passengers or freight between or among the States or engaged in carrying any of the mails of the United States ; or that they or either of them have compelled or induced or attempted to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, persuasion, or violence, any of the employés of any of said railroads to refuse or fail to perform any duties of employés of any of said railroads in connection with the Inter-State business or commerce of such railroads, or the carriage of the United States mails by such railroads, or the transportation of passengers or property between or among the States ; or that they or either of them have compelled or induced or attempted to compel or induce, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, any of the employés of said railroads who are employed by such railroads and engaged in the service in the conduct of Inter-State business or in the operation of any of the trains carrying the mails of the United States, or doing Inter-State business or the transportation of passengers and freight between and among the States, to leave the service of such railroads ; or that they or either of them have prevented any person whatever, by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, from entering the service of any of said railroads and doing the work thereof in the carrying of the United States mails or the transportation of passengers and freight between or among the States ; or that they or either of them have done any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to restrain said railroad companies or receivers in the free

and unhindered control and handling of Inter-State commerce over the lines of said railroads, and of transportation of persons and freight between and among the States; or that they or either of them ordered, directed, aided, assisted, or abetted in any manner whatever any person or persons to commit any or either of the acts aforesaid.

And the said defendants, each for himself, does plead to the said information that he is not guilty of any or either or all of the acts therein charged, or of any contempt of the orders of this court in the premises.

Defendants further allege that after the service of said injunction upon them they forthwith consulted competent counsel, learned in the law and duly authorized and licensed to practice as attorney and counselor-at-law in the courts of the United States, and fully and fairly stated to him all the facts in the premises, and exhibited to him the order of the court made herein, and were advised by him as to what they might rightfully and lawfully do in the premises without violation of the order of the court or contempt of its authority, and that they have since that time in all things proceeded in their acts and conduct in regard to said strike and the persons engaged therein in strict accordance with the advice of the said attorney so by them consulted. And the said defendants, each of them for himself, denies that he intended in any way to violate the injunction of this court, or to act in defiance or contempt of its authority in any respect.

AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AUGUST 4, 1894.

The National Executive Committee of the American Railway Union held a Conference in Chicago, August 4th, and issued an address, the chief passages of which are here given. It opens thus :

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

We, workingmen on the railways of the United States, make appeal to the voters of our country :

The American Railway Union was organized in the common interest of all workingmen upon the railways of the United States and in connected industries, because of the failure of the class unions already in existence to protect the employés from the aggressions and impositions of their employers—the railway corporations of the country. The crisis and the hard times of the previous year, which were themselves occasioned, we are convinced, by the criminal conspiracy of capitalists, formed the occasion for a pretended necessity of reducing the wages of workingmen everywhere throughout the nation. To protect themselves in their extremity the railway employés formed the American Railway Union, in the hope that by presenting a united front they might be able to defend their rights. Into this union men working in connected industries were also admitted. No compulsion or undue influence was employed to obtain members, and no effort was made to destroy the older brotherhoods. The only intention was to bring about a more perfect union in which

the will of the members should at all times rule, and to this end no strike was ordered except upon a majority vote of the local unions. Into this union, at their own request, the employés of the Pullman Palace Car Company were admitted. As their grievances were the cause of the walk-out, it is proper to present for the consideration of the voters of the United States those grievances.

[Here follows, in the appeal of the committee, an elaborate narrative of these grievances. It was a peculiar and complicated system of wrongs to which Pullman subjected his men. After cutting their wages so low that they could barely exist upon them, he took back nearly all the wages for rent, supplies, and extras, so that they could get but a mere trifle in money. This year they found themselves laboring from ten to sixteen hours a day, with the result that at the end of the month their receipts had not balanced their expenditures, and they were still compelled to ask credit of somebody. It was under these circumstances that their case was taken up by the American Railway Union, which recognizes the solidarity of labor—the common interests of all workingmen everywhere.]

In 1893, previous to the organization of the American Railway Union, there had been formed in Chicago a combination of twenty-two railway companies under the name of the General Managers' Association, for the purpose of fighting and disrupting labor organizations, and for reducing the rates of wages throughout the country. The General Managers' Association promptly came to the rescue of the Pullman Company. It was guilty of interfering with commerce between the States and in the carrying of the United States mails, by refusing to carry passengers, or express, or mails unless also carrying the cars of the Pullman Company. Thus was the issue joined.

There were, in different parts of the city and country, acts of violence committed, contrary to the orders of the officers of the American Railway Union, and in most cases, we believe, by persons either irresponsible because of some mental perversion or acting directly under orders of the enemies of the workingman. It is evident, at any rate, that the advantage because of any such disorder could only accrue to the railway companies and in no sense to the men. No sooner had this been brought about than the advocates of the railroad companies sought to identify their contention with patriotism, and to make it appear that the Government was on their side of the quarrel. We regret to say that the Federal Government gave color to the corporation's claim that the authorities were prepared to assist them in a partisan conflict by the unnecessary sending of troops without request of the constituted State authorities, by the one-sided and offensive acts of the public prosecutor, by the mouthings of the United States commander, and by the tyrannical utterances of the President himself.

The last chapter of this narrative covers the double prosecution of the officers and directors of the American Railway Union. They have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury under the anti-trust law for conspiring to interfere with Inter-State commerce and the carrying of the mails. This law was passed for the purpose of preventing improper combinations of railways and other carrying companies, and when Attorney-General Olney was pressed to enforce it against these combinations, he stated that it was unconstitutional, and therefore refused to do so. For the same offence the same officers and directors were the second time arrested under contempt proceedings by the same court. An attempt was made to bring them to trial without the privilege of a jury.

We submit that the American Railway Union has not interfered with Inter-State commerce or the carrying of the mails, and, furthermore, that neither the directors nor the officers

had the power to so interfere on behalf of the American Railway Union, as all such questions are submitted to each local union. The workingmen belonging to the Union retired from the employment of the railways at their own will; they have always been free to return when they so desired.

We now here appeal to the people to desert the old political parties, which have shown themselves inimical to the interests of the common people and friendly to the vampire corporations. Let none but friends of popular rule be put on guard throughout the nation, so that when the next struggle takes place between workingmen and their oppressors it may not be found that militia, soldiery, constabulary, public prosecutors, courts, Congress, and the President are ready to use their power and authority upon the wrong side.

In the present struggle, as well as in all the struggles of the past between workingmen and their employers, it has been found that there is no provision in the laws of the country to adjudicate disputes between employer and employé. The only laws which are called into operation are those for the preservation of "public order." There is need of legislation for the peaceable adjudication of labor disputes, which are fought out, from time to time, at enormous expense not merely to the parties to the quarrel but to all the people of the country. These people are the sovereigns, whose peace should not be disturbed and whose interests should be preserved. The sovereign people should assert their right to rule.

The existing state of anarchy is not longer endurable.

We therefore appeal to our fellow-voters all over the country to support the party which bears the name of the sovereign people, and which stands ready to pledge itself that, when into its hands is given the government, disputes between employers and employés will no longer be the only disputes excepted in the various States and the nation from the jurisdiction of the established courts. Let no man sit as your

representative in State or National Legislature who is not pledged to the adoption of a law which will cause all such differences to be submitted to the unprejudiced decision of a properly constituted court and jury, to the end that public peace may be permanently preserved. And since the American Railway Union has at no time asked more than this of their antagonists, it is for this and nothing more that we now make appeal.



AN EMINENT ENGLISHMAN.

MR. STEAD, OF LONDON, ON THE AMERICAN STRIKES.

Just as the final sheet of this volume had been got ready for the press, in the first week of August, 1894, I learned that a book dealing with some of the themes here dealt with would soon be published in London by that brilliant and brave English author, William T. Stead. I have secured some pages of it, which are well worthy of a place here.

It can hardly be necessary for me to say to those who have read "Striking for Life," that I do not accept all the ideas of Mr. Stead, who, though singularly well-informed upon American affairs and upon the struggles of labor in the United States, has, it seems to me, been over-hasty in forming some of his judgments. Years of time and observation are needed to familiarize one with our labor movement,—its causes, origin, and course,—its relation to politics, parties, and the governing powers, and to the prodigious and rapid development of capitalism—its bearings upon the community at large, and the changes it has undergone from time to time. Even a cursory look at the movements of the Thames, the Rhine, the Volga, the Ganges, the Amazon, or the Mississippi may be instructive, and may enable a trained looker at any of these rivers to tell things about

it unknown to the dwellers on its banks ; yet if the same looker were to dwell long on the banks he would probably see reason to correct some of the opinions he formed when he first took a glance at it. Though I myself have been a student of the American labor movement for many years, I shall not assume to criticise any of those few passages of Mr. Stead's book, "*Chicago To-Day*," which I have been able to see in advance of its publication. I can say that some of the passages in question are strong and meritorious. If, however, Mr. Stead shall ever honor this volume by perusing it, he will easily discover in what respects I think his judgments might be modified.

THE OUTLOOK OF MR. STEAD.

It must be kept in mind that Mr. Stead's words are those of a friend, not an enemy—those of a man who is anxious for the uplifting of labor, not of one who scoffs as he thinks it is sinking in the Serbonian bog.

While looking at our country he draws pictures of a gloomy kind, and his forecasts are of a like kind, but have a revolutionary color. He tells of things he saw and heard during his visit to the country last year ; he sketches events of recent occurrence ; he describes the changes in the distribution of wealth that have been brought about here ; he presents facts concerning the astounding growth of capitalism, and he dwells upon the methods that are adopted to crush the industrial revolt that has already given signs of its approach.

American capitalism is rampant (according to Mr. Stead), American labor groans under a despotism of its own creation. He says :

"According to the latest Government statistics, the Americans possess sixty billions of wealth. Nine per cent. of the

families own seventy-one per cent. of this, leaving but twenty-nine per cent. to the remaining ninety-one per cent. of the families. The nine per cent. is composed of two classes—rich and millionaires. Of the latter there are 4,074 families. They average \$3,000,000 each. They constitute only three one-hundredths of one per cent. of the whole number of families, while they own twenty per cent. of the wealth. That is, they own nearly as much as the 11,593,887 families.

“The process of accumulation goes on irresistibly. The snowball gathers as it grows. Even spendthrifts and prodigals cannot dissipate the unearned increment of their millions which multiply while they sleep. The millionaire is developing into the billionaire, and the end is not yet. The transformation is hidden from the multitude because the coming despot eschews the tawdry tinsel of the crown, and liberty is believed to be as safe as—well, let us say, as the populace of Rome believed the republic to be when Julius Cæsar refused the imperial purple. But everywhere the money power has the people by the throat.

“The ablest men in the United States see this and deplore it. But what are they doing to mend it?

“Capitalism in America is for the most part where capitalism was in the old country fifty years ago, when it ruled all things. It is like going back to the middle of the century to visit the American republic. In most matters pertaining to social evolution, in things industrial and, indeed, in many other things—they are about fifty years behind us. It is difficult to conceive a more cruel satire on the simple faith of the radicalism in which I was brought up than to witness how little free education and the penny daily paper in America have succeeded in helping these millions of English-speaking men to keep step with the vanguard of their race. Hence, when an Englishman returns from the United States to the worst strike-region in England, he is conscious of a great change for the better. Our difficulties are bad enough, but they are as moonlight is to sunlight, as water is to wine, compared with the industrial feud which rages on the other side of the Atlantic.”

Of the great railroad strike of 1894, Mr. Stead speaks in this way:

“It was the Bull Run of labor. As it needed the disaster of Bull Run to teach the North that they must organize

and sacrifice for victory, so even this cruel and crushing blow may be the saving of the industrial classes in the United States.

"The suppression of the industrial revolt settles nothing and it proves nothing, excepting what was only too well known before. But it illustrates much, and it may be it will supply something of the needed stimulus to rouse the apathetic, easy-going American to action. The strikes against the railroads only bring into clearer relief the fact that labor in America is not yet anything like prepared to enter the lists in serious earnest. Labor, in its present disorganized, undisciplined, and irreligious condition, is doomed to writhe helpless for some time longer beneath the iron-shod heel of Capital. It may from time to time flounder into a *Jacquerie* in which torch and dynamite will enable it to inflict hideous wounds upon its adversaries, but more than that lies beyond its reach.

"Religion, save the religion of a common hate, does not exist to bind together into an organic body the working classes of America. And until they get religion some way or other—understanding by that much-abused term, sufficient faith in each other to trust their comrades, sufficient confidence in the ultimate triumph of their cause to be willing to make the daily sacrifice that is involved in loyal obedience and punctual payment of dues to their chiefs—they will remain as they are at present, a helpless, writhing crowd, whose only plan of campaign is reliance upon the sporadic violence of excited mobs when confronted by the organized forces of the existing order. Where moral authority is not, resort to Gatlings and dynamite seems to many the only alternative.

"The great mischief in America is the absence of trust, the rooted disbelief in the honesty and good faith of anybody. 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' does not seem to offer sufficient inducement to Christian men to compose these industrial feuds. Perhaps they will wake up to a sense of their duty and their responsibility when they discover that the failure to make peace not merely forfeits the kingdom of heaven, but inevitably turns the kingdom of this world into a kingdom of hell."

THE WAY OUT.

"The way out—which in England seems to lie in the progressive municipalization of all monopolies of service, and in

the assumption by the State, step by step, of all the functions of distribution that are manifestly capable of enlarged management—is barred in America by the flagrant corruption that prevails in the city governments. The remedy, of course, is the old, old specific. There must be a revival of civic faith if the State is to be saved."

RUSSIA AND AMERICA.

After giving a vivid picture of the difficulty of amending the Federal Constitution and of the impotence of popular will in the face of a decision of the Supreme Court, whose members are appointed for life by the Executive and are not amenable to any elective officers, Mr. Stead draws a comparison between Russia and America (which must here be condensed):

"Great as are the physical resemblances between America and the Russian Empire, the political analogy is still closer. This, although it seems to be the most reckless of paradoxes, is nothing less than the simple fact. The fundamental characteristic of America, as of Russia, is the deep, ingrained distrust of the popular sovereignty visible in the Constitution of both countries. The Republic, which professes to be based upon the principle of popular sovereignty, and whose greatest President defined its essential principle as being that of government by the people and for the people, has, as a matter of fact, arrived at substantially the same conclusion as the Russian autocracy as to the lack of wisdom which distinguishes the popular sovereign.

"English people, who expect to see the machinery of government changed after every general election, have ideas as to the sovereignty of the people which are entirely foreign to Americans. The American pays no more homage to the declared will of the nation than if he were a Russian. America is not governed by the sovereign will of the sovereign people expressed at the ballot-box; it is governed by the dead hand of those who framed its Constitution. The whole nation voting as one man is likely to find that its wishes are set on one side by the action of the dead hand of the framers of the Constitution. The sovereignty of the people in the United States is a babe in swaddling clothes—a sovereignty which is

recognized in words only, to be mocked at in fact. When you discuss this question with Americans, they always fall back upon the argument that it is necessary to have safeguards against sudden outbreaks of popular folly. That is exactly what the Russians say, the only difference being that the Russians do not take the trouble of asking popular opinion to register itself at the ballot-box, while the Americans do. Both, however, agree in regarding the decision of the ballot-box as almost certain to be an expression of folly rather than of wisdom.

"It is not only in the written Constitution but in the private conversation of the educated classes that you find the same deeply-rooted distrust of simple democratic methods. The Americans are living under the dominion of the political ideas which prevailed under George III. They denounce him every Fourth of July, but go on living under his system all the time. This is true enough, and it is bad enough, in all conscience. For it operates as a direct incentive to anarchy, which is the natural outcome of political and social despair.

"The chief hope that lies in the future seems to be that these obstacles and evils will, by their very weight, rouse the American people to deal with the problem with the same heroic thoroughness and national devotion that they displayed in crushing the slave-owners' revolt. But that hope is not for to-day, or even for to-morrow. As the abolitionists had to labor through an apostolate of martyrdom for many long years before the evil of slavery worked itself into such a form of concrete devildom that the whole nation could see that it must be suppressed, so the social reformers of to-day will have to bear their cross in patience, until, by long years of sacrifice, they secure the redemption of their land."

So far Mr. Stead. In a suitable part of his book he commends the conduct of Governor Altgeld, Governor Waite, Governor Lewelling, and Governor Hogg. He speaks with contempt of Judge Gary, of Chicago, as a man ignorant of justice and of the world.

THE STRIKE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

JUSTICE *vs.* BULLETS.

BY JOHN W. HAYES, GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER OF
THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

Whatever else results from the recent strike, it has brought us twenty years nearer to the Government ownership of railroads, for which the Knights of Labor have been agitating for twenty-five years.

Whatever else may be the outcome of the efforts of the American Railway Union to secure justice for the Pullman employés, there has been such a propaganda and agitation in favor of extending the control of Government to these great arteries of commerce as years of reading and speech-making could not have brought about, and when we remember that one hundred and fifty-two railroads are already in the hands of the United States courts, some of which have not paid the wages of their employés for from three to six months, the need of this extension of Government functions becomes apparent to all.

Heretofore every extension of the powers of Government has been in the direction of special privileges to individuals and in defence of the money-power, whether it was the granting of Government lands or largess to rail-

road-wreckers or to suppress an uprising of the people against these same oppressors.

In every contest between organized workmen and organized capitalists experience has shown that the powers of all the departments of our National and State Government—executive, legislative and judicial—have been directed against the workman and in favor of capital.

Ours is a government of the money-power, by the money-power, and for the money-power.

In the execution of the laws the Executive is governed by statutes enacted in time of war for the successful prosecution of a mighty struggle, waged for the purpose of determining our national existence. Upon the legislative floors senators and representatives vie with each other in applauding and approving the official acts of the Executive department, and one who, under the Southern standard, openly defied the law when the nation's existence was imperiled, now joins with his political enemies in approving the execution of that very law, when ingeniously tortured into an instrument for the oppression of the honest worker and the protection of the capitalists, while other and later laws, designed to avoid conflict, protect citizens, and secure justice, are allowed to lie hid from public view until dragged forth to the light of day by the friends of the oppressed.

The judicial ermine is moth-eaten. Our judges sit prepared to give their sanction, and lend their aid to the decrees prepared in advance by the lawyers of corporations, and sustain every act of the capitalists without hesitation—give full credence to every accusation against the workman, and condemn—sometimes unheard and always with vindictive haste—every man who raises hand or voice against the mighty power which, with arbitrary and

despotic sway, dictates the policy of the Government in all its branches.

It is strange, under all these circumstances—it would be laughable if the sentiment of contempt did not suppress the smile—to read the many apologies which are offered by the tools of the courts and cabinets for carrying into effect the orders which they receive. How careful, how ready they are to proclaim their holy regard for labor, their sympathies with the workman, and their desire for the amelioration of his condition. They boast that they were at one time workmen, that their fathers were farmers or artisans, and think such professions atone for the death-dealing volley or the butchering bayonet charge. Why should they boast of having been workmen? They are no longer such. If they had been called upon to suppress an armed body of murderers and thieves, would they have apologized for their acts by saying, “I also was a murderer and thief in my early years, and so was my father; so were my ancestors for many generations?”

The truth is, conscience tells them that their acts call for an apology, and they must make some excuse to themselves, however unavailing the lotion may be. Suwaroff was an honest workman in his early life, yet having crushed out the last spark of life in hapless Poland, he sent to his Imperial Mistress the dispatch written with blood-stained hands, “Order reigns in Warsaw.”

In the late strike the Executive called into service the regular army at the behest of the railroad corporations, in order to enforce the decrees of those corporations and to crush the workman and compel him to an unquestioning obedience and abject submission to those decrees, and yet but awhile ago the railroad companies within the

city of Chicago ordered a "boycott" on the Chicago and Alton road, involving in its consequence all the inconveniences to the nation and the public, which is charged against the American Railway Union, namely, retarding the mails, impeding traffic, and delaying travel, and no notice is taken of the act, the regular army is not called into requisition, and no mandates are issued by the courts. We cannot but admire the delicacy which placed a self-imposed restraint upon our officials and prompted them to a willing blindness, when discord invaded the family circle or jarred the counsels of friends. Here there was no call for official interference. The contest was corporation against corporation. With that the public had no concern. But let a band of honest workmen become involved in the controversy, and bullet and bayonet rejoice to do their work.

It is a fact that the money-power controls every department of our Government, enacts the laws, dictates the policy of cabinets and legislatures, and formulates judicial decrees.

In the American Railway Union strike and Pullman boycott the efforts of the Knights of Labor were mainly directed to bringing all the influence possible from Washington for the purpose of affecting a settlement.

The strike was not much different from many others of the past, and many more possibly to come in the near future, unless wisdom supersedes ignorance in public affairs and legislation. It was a little more widespread, a little more daring, a little bit harder fought, and the weapons used to defeat it more novel and portentous—the Federal bayonet and a "wet blanket" in the hands of friends.

The Knights of Labor did that which others in their haste or ignorance overlooked, viz: sought to invoke the same Federal power that stood behind the bayonets and bullets of the corporations—that is, the Federal laws of 1888, the difference between the law invoked by the Knights of Labor and that of the money power alone being that the first was for investigation and arbitration; the latter was coercion by the ruthless bullet of Federal soldiers.

If the President of the United States could, at the call of a railroad attorney, employ the regular army against the workmen, it surely was no great boon which we demanded when we asked for the enforcement of those laws which are now upon the statute books. Whatever sophistry may suggest to give color to his right to use the regular army, without the call of the Governor of Illinois, no doubt exists as to his duty to enforce the undisputed laws of the nation, enacted at his own suggestion, to avoid just such conflicts. We asked for the enforcement of those laws in order that we might allay excitement and induce the workmen who had been outraged to present their grievances to the tribunal which the law had provided, knowing that their cause was righteous, that the commission would so decide, and that the entire community (excepting those who had a direct personal interest to the contrary) would give the workmen the benefit of their moral support and aid them by discriminating against oppressors.

The conference with the President took place at five o'clock on the evening of July 12th, arrangements therefor having been made by Senator Kyle and Representative McGann. The conference lasted just fifty-five minutes, during which time all phases of the strike were

discussed. We left the President with the firm conviction that the commission would be appointed within one or two days, and arrangements were immediately made for a full investigation of the controversy.

Although the law does not give the Commission of Arbitration the power to make and enforce a decree, we knew, as did our opponents, that the facts would prove that our friends were in the right, and we expected that the reports of the commission would have been a channel through which the public might receive information not attainable by any other means at that time. A correct understanding of our complaints and a knowledge of all the facts would have given us the aid of public sympathy.

It took about fifteen days from the time of our interview to find two men competent to assist Commissioner Wright to make this investigation.

During all this time every pressure possible was brought to bear upon the two Houses of Congress to induce them to prejudge the case and approve the action of the Executive. It was well known that thousands of petitions were in circulation, calling for the impeachment of Attorney-General Olney, yet votes of approval are hurried through the two Houses, one of which must present the impeachment, and the other, under oath, try it.

From the action of those in power it must be manifest that the labor organizations must look well to the use of the ballot at the coming Congressional election.

The entire power of the Government is exerted to protect the capital of the few as against the rights of the toiling masses. The logic of the day is "protect the rich and they will provide for the wants of the obedient and submissive workman." To this end armories are

erected near the centres of wealth and the troops are in barracks conveniently near to be speedily available. The right of the workman to organize is, indeed, conceded even by Judges Woods and Grosscup, but every act of organized labor is harshly and unjustly criticised and a subsidized press daily teems with misrepresentation of the workmen and laudation of their oppressors.

Our hope is in our ability to exert a controlling power in the next Congress, to control the election of a Speaker, and to reform the Committees of the House of Representatives. We must prepare for the contest of 1896. To do so every labor organization must act in unison and exert all its powers to end this strife once and for ever by the intelligent use of the ballot.



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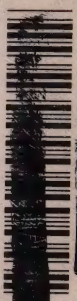
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